Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2 1939 to 2000

The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Volume 1

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Volume 1 • Part 2

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Canada's Residential Schools

Volume 1 • Part 2

Introduction

The Canadian residential school system, 1940 to 2000

CHAPTER 32

Operating and dismantling the system: 1940–2000

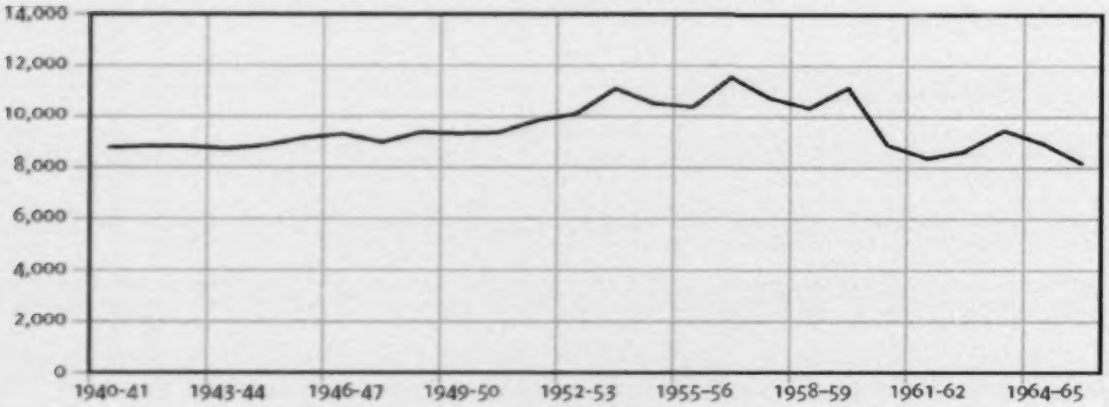
By the 1940s, Indian Affairs officials were committed to the closure of the residential school system. In May 1944, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, told the House of Commons Special Committee on Postwar Reconstruction and Re-Establishment of Indian Population, "I think we are outgrowing Indian residential schools." He noted that he was not expressing government policy, but, he said, "I would like to see residential schools slowly and gradually closed as the Indians outgrow their need for them. I think you will always need a few for orphans and children from disrupted homes."[1] Later that year, he advised Indian Affairs Branch Director Harold McGill that

> we are rapidly approaching a time when a definite decision will have to be reached with respect to residential schools throughout the Dominion. If they are not serving the purpose for which they were established, then in my judgment they should be either closed or remodelled or the program now inforce [sic] modified to meet the more urgent needs of the Indian population.[2]

According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1944–45, there were 8,865 residential students and seventy-six schools.[3] Twenty-five years later, in the spring of 1969, the federal government took over the full administration of the remaining fifty-six residential schools in southern Canada. At that time, there were 8,000 students living in residences. (These figures do not include the hostels or the students living in them that were operated by Northern Affairs in the Northwest Territories. The history of that system is described in a separate volume of this report.)[4] But, although residential schooling had survived, it was no longer a dominant part of the Indian Affairs education program. In 1944–45, the 8,865 students in residential school accounted for 53.9% of the 16,438 First Nations students enrolled in school in Canada. The other 7,573 students were in Indian Affairs day schools.[5]

Indian Affairs stopped reporting residential school enrolment in its annual reports after 1965. Graph 32.1 shows the reported residential school enrolment from 1940 to 1965. It illustrates that enrolment remained high throughout this period.

Graph 32.1
Residential school enrolment, 1940–42 to 1964–65.



Source: Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs annual reports.

According to the 1968–69 Indian Affairs annual report, there were 8,206 students living in residences. These residential school students accounted for only 13% of the 62,834 First Nations students enrolled in school in Canada. The majority of them—33,351—were attending public or private schools operated under provincial or territorial authority.[6] Since the 1950s, Indian Affairs had worked diligently to divest itself of the direct provision of schooling to Aboriginal children. Its preference was to see them educated in provincial or territorial schools. This was a central element of what it termed its "integration policy."

In this process, residential schools were slated for eventual closure. In 1968, for administrative purposes, the government began reclassifying residential schools as residences and schools, each with its own administrative structure. The schools became absorbed into the government's day school system. In 1969, when the government took over full control of the residences from the churches, Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey wrote that residential enrolment "has at last started to decline." He estimated that over the next five years, it would be possible to close twenty-five more residences. This would not only end the unnecessary separation of children from parents, which Davey described as harmful to both, but also save the federal government $5 million a year.[7]

The major reason why residential school enrolment remained static until the late 1960s is that Indian Affairs had not constructed enough classrooms to allow all First Nations parents to send their children to school. It was not until the 1966–67 school year that 95% of all school-aged First Nations children were attending school.[8] Without enough classrooms, closing residential schools would only exacerbate the Indian Affairs classroom shortage. Residential schooling actually underwent a brief expansion in the North as the federal government established new residences and

residential schools in its efforts to provide schooling to Aboriginal children in the territories and northern Québec. The lifespan of the residential schools was also extended by the continued support they received from the churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, which opposed the federal government's school closure and integration policy.

Residential schooling survived largely intact to the end of the 1960s, but, in the minds of government bureaucrats, it was slated for closure. Although, on a number of occasions, the federal government significantly increased funding to the system, the reality is that it was retained at a consistently inadequate level.

During this period, residential schools were a neglected part of Indian Affairs education policy. When the government did take over full responsibility for the schools in 1969, it did not do so as the result of a deliberate policy decision, but in response to a federal labour board ruling that forced it to live up to the consequences of its own actions.

Aboriginal children were the victims of this policy of drift, neglect, and government–church conflict. During a period of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity in the country, the children who attended residential schools continued to be poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly clothed, and poorly educated. Separated from their parents, they were emotionally neglected, subject to harsh discipline, and, due to poor staff recruitment and supervision, at risk of sexual abuse.

In the years following the government takeover of 1969, the number of residences in southern Canada did, as R. F. Davey had predicted, decline rapidly. By 1980, only sixteen residences were still in operation. (As discussed in the volume on schools in the North, the northern residences had been transferred to territorial control in the late 1960s.)

Graph 32.2 shows the number of residential schools and residences in operation from 1940 to 2000. It includes both of the residences that were operated in northern Canada. The decline in numbers starts in the mid-1960s, and intensifies after the 1969 federal government takeover of the schools in the South and the transfer of northern schools to territorial governments in the same period.

Most of the residences that continued to operate into the 1990s owed their continued existence to a new political factor: Aboriginal assertion of the right to control the education of Aboriginal children. In 1969, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien released the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (more commonly referred to as the "White Paper"), a federal policy paper that sought to hasten the assimilation of First Nations people. The White Paper sparked a powerful and effective proclamation of Aboriginal rights by Aboriginal political organizations. The government publicly abandoned the policy paper and eventually accepted the principle of "Indian Control of Indian Education." By that time, First Nations educational organizations had already taken control of at least one residential school

Graph 32.2
Number of residential schools and residences, 1940–1998.

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Residential Schools of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, 2011.

in Alberta. Other Aboriginal organizations would follow suit elsewhere, particularly Saskatchewan. The decision by those organizations to maintain residential schooling was in large measure a rejection of the proposed alternative: assimilation into provincial education systems that Aboriginal people viewed as being unreceptive, inappropriate, and racist.

This chapter is intended as a framework for the rest of this section of the report. After outlining the development of general Indian Affairs policy in this period, it looks at Indian Affairs education policy. Special attention is given to the testimony provided to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons hearings into the *Indian Act* in the late 1940s. The testimony of First Nations witnesses at these hearings provides considerable insight into the range of Aboriginal views on residential schooling and education in general.

The chapter then describes the two examples of expansion of the system in Canadian provinces during this period (in mid-northern Québec and northwestern Ontario). This is followed by a description of the major government policy changes of the period. These include the introduction of funding policies intended to strengthen government control over the schools and the shifting of students from Indian Affairs schools to schools that came under provincial authority. Considerable attention is paid to the conflict that arose between the churches and the federal government. These sections make it clear that residential schooling during this period was not a single, well-functioning, system, but, rather, a set of systems whose relations were marked by suspicion, mistrust, defiance, and, at times, wilful deception.

The final sections of the chapter describe the ultimate—and somewhat accidental—government takeover of the system in 1969 and the subsequent rise and eventual demise of a number of residences that operated under Aboriginal control.

Canadian government policy: From the Special Joint Committee to the White Paper

There was never a clearer statement of Canada's Indian Affairs policy than Duncan Campbell Scott's testimony in support of amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1920. Those amendments would give the government the right to enfranchise individuals (to strip them of their status under the *Indian Act*) without their consent and to compel First Nations children to attend residential schools. Scott, who was the deputy minister of Indian Affairs, justified the adoption of these compulsory powers by saying, "Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill."[9]

The goal was assimilation: the end of special status for First Nations people, the effective dissolution of the reserves, and the termination of the Treaties (if there were no Indians, there could be no Treaty responsibilities). These goals were in keeping with historic Indian Affairs policy. This policy had been developed and implemented with no consultation with Aboriginal people. As were residential schools themselves, this policy was, in fact, in direct contradiction to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the commitments made during the negotiation of the Treaties.

In a lesser known remark from the same testimony, Scott commented on the fact that in performing his duties as deputy minister, he had "never had the opportunity of getting the opinion of the Indians." Neither had he been able to get his minister to "sit down and grasp the complicated nature of the Indian business."[10]

Both statements represent ongoing patterns in Indian Affairs policy. During the 1920s and 1930s, the government would adopt ever more restrictive measures in its attempt to compel assimilation; again, without any consultation with Aboriginal people. At the same time, politicians, including the minister, remained largely ignorant of the day-to-day operation of Indian Affairs. For example, in 1944, J. R. MacNicol, who had been a Conservative member of Parliament since 1930, told a parliamentary committee:

> I have always taken a very vigourous [sic] stand in connection with Indian affairs whenever opportunity presented itself. The opportunity has not presented itself on many occasions because the estimates are brought down on the last days of the session, almost the last hours of the session, and we vote them through

> without investigation or any report aside from what the minister makes when he brings in his estimates.[11]

During the period from 1940 to 1973, by which time the federal government had dramatically reduced the number of residential schools in Canada and was committed to closing the rest, the government's policy goals remained largely unchanged. Aboriginal policy was subject to two investigations by joint committees of Parliament; one major academic survey, and a consultative process led by a cabinet minister. The *Indian Act* underwent a major revision (1951) that stripped out many of its compulsory measures while retaining the commitment to assimilation. In 1969, the federal government issued a policy document—the White Paper—that ignored virtually everything First Nations people had been telling the government about Treaty and Aboriginal rights. The goals of the White Paper amounted to a continuation and an acceleration of the policies enunciated by Duncan Campbell Scott in 1920.

Since the 1930s, Indian Affairs had been almost unsupervised and underfunded. Minister of Mines and Natural Resources T. A. Crerar, who had been responsible for Indian Affairs since 1935, left the day-to-day operation of Indian Affairs to Dr. Harold McGill, who had succeeded Duncan Campbell Scott as deputy minister of Indian Affairs in 1932 and served as the Indian Affairs branch director from 1936 onwards.[12]

By the mid-1940s, senior Indian Affairs officials were openly alarmed about the degree to which the branch lacked direction and resources. For example, when Labor-Progressive Party (Communist) Member of Parliament Dorise Nielsen told Indian Affairs officials appearing before a 1944 Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons that the branch needed "a complete change of policy," they agreed. The superintendent of Welfare and Training, R. A. Hoey, told the committee:

> I think this is the proper time to review the whole Indian problem. Incidentally, I think the policy in respect to Indian affairs in this country was influenced to some extent by the thought that the red man was disappearing. A very outstanding member of the Anglican church said to me the first year I entered the department [1936], "The better Indians will become gradually assimilated and others are dying off. There is not going to be any [Indian] problem a few decades from now." What are the actual facts? The Indian population is increasing more rapidly than any other racial group.[13]

Later that same day, long-time Indian Affairs secretary T. R. L. MacInnes gave the committee a hint of the types of changes he would like to see. He said that although reserves might still be justifiable as a protective measure for First Nations people in western Canada, in eastern Canada, "there does not seem to be any justification for our staying in the Indian reserve business." It was time, he said, that the First Nations there "should be divorced from the reserve system entirely and put on their own. It is their only salvation."[14]

In the face of this testimony, Liberal Members of Parliament George Ilsley suggested that a special committee of Parliament be struck to conduct an inquiry into Aboriginal issues in Canada.[37] In August of 1944, T. A. Crerar promised to strike such a committee after the end of the war.[38] Before he could do so, in 1945, Crerar was appointed to the Senate and McGill retired from his position as branch director.[39] The new minister was J. Allison Glen, who intended to be more involved in the operations of the Indian Affairs branch. At the same time, R. A. Hoey took over as Indian Affairs director.[40] One of Glen's first departures from past practice was to inform staff that Indian Affairs would no longer oppose Aboriginal political organizations.[41]

This was an important change. Since the 1930s, the federal government policy had been to frustrate Aboriginal political organizations and subject them to police surveillance. For example, Indian Affairs had attempted to strip F. O. Loft, the leader of the League of Indians, of his Indian status, and considered prosecuting him under the provisions of the *Indian Act* prohibiting the raising of funds to pursue claims against the government.[42] In 1934, when John Tootoosis, a leader of the League of Indians of Western Canada, travelled to the Driftpile Reserve in Alberta, he was picked up by the Mounted Police in Edmonton and told that if he persisted in his journey, he ran the risk of being arrested for trespass. On another occasion, when Tootoosis asked an Indian Affairs official for twelve copies of the *Indian Act*, he was presented with two copies and an explanation that it was not considered necessary to give it "wide distribution." He was told that if people wanted to know more about the Act, they could ask their Indian agent.[43]

To some degree, Glen was simply recognizing reality. In the later years of the war, national Aboriginal organizations were beginning to reassert themselves. In 1943, First Nations leaders from British Columbia met with First Nations leaders from Ontario and Quebec, and drafted a petition to government that drew on such documents as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and various Treaties to argue for the recognition of their rights as Aboriginal people.[44] The following year, two national organizations, the Indian Nations of North America and the North American Indian Brotherhood, had emerged.[45]

After receiving continued pressure from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations for a review of Aboriginal issues, in December 1945, Glen announced that a review of the *Indian Act* would be established.[46] In May 1946, the federal government struck the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider The *Indian Act*. Among the issues that it was specifically charged with examining was the operation of day and residential schools.[47] One of the first witnesses to appear before the committee was R. A. Hoey. He stressed the need for a dramatic increase in funding to Indian Affairs.

> To undertake a worthwhile Indian betterment program based on existing needs of the population and other needs that are likely to arise during the period

> [illegible] immediately ahead of us. It would, in my judgment, require a parliamentary appropriation to begin with of approximately $10,000,000 or a sum a little more than double the amount which appears in the 1946–47 estimates. In connection with paragraph 8 would, I am also convinced, require additional annual amounts for the next fifteen years at least, or until a peak figure of $35,000,000 is reached. If such a program were based on a sound policy and closely linked up with effective administration, there should be a gradual decline in expenditures from the succeeding year onward. A great deal would depend, of course, on the sound practical value of the educational programs and the extent to which we can secure the co-operation by [illegible] and other community [illegible].[1]

The goal of such a program of betterment remained assimilation. According to Ubary, "The education and ultimate assimilation of the Indian population will be, in my judgment, a slow and painful process and one that will likely demand the exercise of devotion, self-sacrifice and patience on the part of the men and women engaged in this challenging and constructive task."[2]

In his presentation to the committee, Indian Affairs secretary T. R. L. MacInnes argued that the Treaty provisions were largely archaic and imposed few legal obligations on the government.[3]

These views were challenged by Aboriginal leaders, who stressed the need for improvements in employment, housing, health, and education, and also the need to respect Aboriginal rights. Andrew Paull, representing the North American Indian Brotherhood, presented a detailed critique of both the joint committee and government policy in June 1946. He pointed to the lack of Aboriginal people on the joint committee, which he called "a committee investigating ourselves."[4] Among the grievances listings Paull identified were:

- the violations of Treaty rights
- the fact that First Nations people had no input in defining who were and were not band members
- the fact that individuals could be enfranchised without their consent
- the negative impact of schools run by religious denominations
- the lack of First Nations people in Parliament
- the lack of First Nations people working for Indian Affairs
- the lack of band council control over local affairs[5]

From 1946 to 1948, the Special Joint Committee held 128 meetings, heard from 122 witnesses, and received 411 written briefs.[6] It issued two interim reports and a final report.[7] The committee spent a great deal of time examining issues relating to education. (The resulting debate will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.) In its final report, the committee concluded that the existing Indian Act was anachronistic, contradictory, and full of anomalies. It recommended that, "with few exceptions, all sections of the Act be either repealed or amended." The new Act should contain

[illegible] provisions intended "to make possible the gradual transition of Indians from wardship to citizenship and to help them advance themselves."

Key recommendations can be summarized as follows:

- granting the vote to First Nations men and women
- granting women the right to vote in band elections
- granting bands increased powers of self-government and increased financial support, and, where "sufficiently advanced," allowing reserves to become municipalities
- eliminating special offences and penalties that applied only to First Nations people
- clarifying the rules dealing with railway lands
- enfranchising First Nations children with non-Aboriginal children in Indian program funds for examinations
- transferring responsibility for a variety of services for First Nations people from the federal government to the provincial governments
- establishing a commission to review, assess, and settle outstanding Treaty claims.[1]

The methods were to be less coercive in nature, but the goal remained the same: assimilation.

The same month that the committee issued its report, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, the successor to R. B. Bennett, assigned his position with Indian Affairs to become Canadian director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).[2] Before they left, they had produced a draft of a new Indian Act. It did not represent a major improvement over the previous Act. The 1946 draft maintained the government's right to enfranchise individuals without their consent, eliminated the Treaty rights and rights to Band Lands of a woman with Indian Act status who married a person without status, and maintained ministerial control over the administration of the estates of Indians with status under the Indian Act. The draft also continued the restrictions on the sale of agricultural products and resources, the prohibition on liquor and ceremonies, and the prohibition on raising money to pursue claims against the government (essentially, a prohibition against pursuing land claims).[3]

The education provisions in the draft Act authorized the minister to enter into agreements with provincial and territorial governments and school boards, as well as with religious bodies and charities, to arrange for the education of children with status under the Indian Act. It allowed the minister to appoint an Indian person to act as a truant officer to monitor children as to which school a child should attend. Significantly, it also provided bands with the opportunity to determine if a majority of the band would prefer an integrated school or a non-denominational school.[4] These provisions

In keeping with this, the authors argued that "Indians should be regarded as 'citizens plus'; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community."[xxv] The first volume of the report, which made ninety-one separate recommendations, called for a level of investment in First Nations economic and social development that would amount to "a truly massive undertaking by comparison with the limited bits-and-pieces program which has been followed hereto."[xxvi] While advancing the concept of Citizens Plus, the report was in keeping with previous policy in that it favoured the devolution of certain federal responsibilities, such as welfare, to provincial control.[xxvii]

After the election of Pierre Trudeau as prime minister of Canada in June 1968, Minister without Portfolio Robert Andras was assigned to carry out a consultation process with Aboriginal people across the country. At these meetings, Aboriginal leaders once again raised concerns over unfulfilled treaty commitments and land rights.[xxviii] On June 25, 1969, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien presented his *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, a document that has entered into general consciousness as the "White Paper."[xxix] ("White paper" is a generic term used to describe government policy papers.)[xxx]

In his prefatory remarks, Chrétien outlined the philosophy that underlay the White Paper's approach: "Special treatment has made of the Indians a community disadvantaged and apart."[xxxi] To address this, the government intended to remove "the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination."[xxxii] This would involve repealing the *Indian Act* and winding up the Indian Affairs section of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The *Indian Act* would be replaced with an Indian Lands Act, under whose authority First Nations people were to gain control over and title to "Indian lands." Provinces were to be asked to take on "the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces."[xxxiii] The federal government would fund the provision of these services. Those Indian Affairs responsibilities that were not transferred to the provinces were to be "transferred to other appropriate federal departments."[xxxiv] In this way, the government would meet its goal of having services to First Nations people "come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians."[xxxv] The elimination of Indian Affairs and the accompanying control of Indian lands were to be carried out over a five-year period.[xxxvi] During this period, "substantial funds" were to be made available for First Nations economic development.[xxxvii] At the end of the process, the Treaties would be extinguished. "Finally, once Indian lands are securely within Indian control, the anomaly of Treaties between groups within society and the government of that society will require that these Treaties be reviewed to see how they can be equitably ended."[xxxviii]

The White Paper contained little that reflected the issues that had been raised by Aboriginal people in their meetings with Andras over the previous year. It was also a

seemingly total rejection of the Citizens Plus concept. Once more, the government policy initiative had ignored those elements of the Aboriginal message that did not fit with its assimilationist agenda.[70] The stage had been set for a confrontation.

The recently formed National Indian Brotherhood described the White Paper as a document intended to bring about "the destruction of a Nation of People by legislation and cultural genocide."[71] David Courchene, the leader of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, said, "We have not been consulted, we have been advised of decisions already taken."[72] The prime minister responded in kind. On August 8, 1969, Trudeau told an audience in Vancouver, "It's inconceivable I think that in a given society, one section of the society have a treaty with the other section of the society."[73] Before the year was out, Harold Cardinal, the president of the Indian Association of Alberta, published *The Unjust Society*, a book whose title was a rebuke to Trudeau's campaign commitment to creating "A Just Society." Cardinal described the White Paper as "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation. For the Indian to survive, says the government in effect, he must become a good little brown white man."[74]

In June 1970, the National Indian Brotherhood adopted a policy paper that had been originally developed by the Indian Association of Alberta, and presented it to the federal government. Entitled *Citizens Plus*, it has come to be known as the "Red Paper." It took as its starting point the need for the government to recognize and honour Treaty and Aboriginal rights.[75] To facilitate such a process, it called for the creation of a claims commission with powers to make binding decisions on claims made in relation to Treaties, and also in the cases of First Nations people who had not made Treaties.[76] Although it sought changes in the *Indian Act* to make it less paternalistic, it did not seek its repeal.[77] Neither did it seek the abolition of the Indian Affairs branch. Instead, it called on it to "stop being authoritarian and ... start to serve people."[78] The paper also called for the creation of a position of minister of Indian Affairs who had no additional responsibilities.[79]

The paper opposed the transfer of education to provincial governments. It argued:

> The funds for education should be offered to the tribal councils. Then the tribe can decide whether it will operate schools itself or make contracts with nearby public schools for places for some or all of its students. These contracts would provide for Indian voice and vote in the operation of those schools. Opportunity could be provided for children of other Canadians to attend schools on the reserves.[80]

In March 1971, Chrétien formally announced that the federal government was abandoning the policy directions outlined in the White Paper.[81] Since the White Paper did not represent a new policy, but merely the acceleration of existing policy, the announcement represented a significant victory for Aboriginal people.

Residential schooling was drawn directly into the conflict over the White Paper when, in 1970, First Nations parents occupied the Blue Quills, Alberta, school to

protest a plan to close the school (but not the residence) and have students educated in the public school in St. Paul, Alberta. The occupation ended with a government agreement to turn both the school and the residence over to an Aboriginal education authority. The takeover of the Blue Quills school set the stage for the National Indian Brotherhood's 1972 position paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education*. (The details of these events are discussed later in this chapter.)

The government retreat from the White Paper principles was only partial. In coming years, Treaty and Aboriginal rights would figure in a number of prominent court cases. In all these cases, the position of federal and provincial governments sought to deny and limit Treaty and Aboriginal rights. It was only after the Supreme Court affirmed in 1973, in the *Calder* case, that Aboriginal rights existed that the federal government moved to establish an Office of Native Claims.[86] Aboriginal leaders were excluded from the talks leading to repatriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1981, and Aboriginal rights were excluded from the initial agreement on repatriation. After a very public lobbying campaign, and several days of heated public and behind-the-scenes discussions at a national federal–provincial constitutional conference, Aboriginal rights were entrenched in the Constitution. However, governmental goodwill throughout the process was limited: three federal–provincial conferences intended to define these rights came to inconclusive results. Successive federal governments have not acted on the recommendation of the 1983 Special Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Self-Government to recognize self-government in the Constitution.[87] Aboriginal leaders also identified elements of the White Paper still apparent in efforts of the subsequent Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, as demonstrated in Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen's task force on First Nations programs in the mid-1980s. It too sought to transfer programs to provincial governments and to dismantle Indian Affairs.[88]

The overall goal of the Canadian government in relation to Aboriginal people during this period remained consistent with previous policy: assimilation and the end of Indian status. The federal government was never able to conceive of Indian status as being anything other than a subordinate status that Aboriginal people would desire to abandon as they became more 'civilized.' In the past, the government had tried to achieve this goal by segregating First Nations people on restricted and often isolated reserves, outlawing their cultural practices, and adopting measures that limited their ability to participate in the Canadian economy and politics. From the 1940s onwards, the government sought to achieve its goal by transferring most of its responsibilities to Aboriginal people to provincial and territorial governments. These policies form the backdrop for much of the history of residential schooling during this period. The system's final decades—when there were far fewer schools in operation—were played out in a different setting, a setting created by Aboriginal people as they more forcefully asserted their rights, including their rights to control the education of their children.

The 1946–1948 Special Joint Committee hearings and education

The minutes of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act* provide a valuable overview of Aboriginal, church, and government views on Aboriginal education in general, and residential schooling in particular. From the minutes, it is apparent that although First Nations witnesses were prepared to acknowledge that there was a role for residential schooling in certain circumstances, they preferred to see their children educated in their home communities in day schools. It is also clear that there were differences among Aboriginal people about the role that churches should play in the provision of education. The testimony gives evidence of a growing difference in approaches between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches regarding the future of residential schooling. In the testimony, one can also see the seeds of what would turn into an ongoing and increasingly bitter conflict between the federal government and the Catholic Church.

As had been the case historically, First Nations witnesses usually expressed their opposition to residential schools in terms of support for the expansion of day schooling. The Indian Association of Alberta and Union of Saskatchewan Indians used identical language in separate briefs to state their view that "the educational needs of many reserves to-day can best be served by the establishment of day schools in proximity to the children's homes." They based this position on the following arguments.

1) Education is a threefold responsibility—school, church, and home. Day schools can better serve this principle.

   The day school can concentrate on the proper function of the school—academic or vocational training. Instead, at present, language difficulties and the half-time work system deprive children of approximately three years of their allotted school time—from seven to sixteen years of age. Evidence of this unfortunate condition can be verified by the figures on school attendance issued by the Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch. To speak about Indian advancement under such conditions is shear [sic] mockery. The present system encourages educational delinquency, retarded development, and an aversion to education. Practically speaking, it develops a class of people who are unable to be anything more than hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of their forefathers.

2) No child can develop as he should, without the care and affection of family life. The restrictions, discipline, exclusive use of English, etc. in the Residential Schools are now recognized as having a harmful effect on immature minds and bodies.

> It is the belief of this Organization that this hiatus in family ties and parental training is at least partially the cause of post-school delinquency. Regardless of how kind and sympathetic the staff of a residential school may be, such a staff cannot replace the average parent.
>
> Where unsuitable home conditions exist, Indian children should be removed from their parents just as white children are, when they are found to be neglected.
>
> Indian parents have an invaluable regard for the companionship of their children and the association of children living at home while attending school is also an invaluable asset towards adult education and the subsequent improvement in home conditions.[89]

According to the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) brief:

> Indian parents can now educate children in the household and farm duties, so long a feature of the residential school. Parents moreover have a right to the company of their children, and a right as parents to supervise their home life. The present system has been compared very aptly to the life of a calf of a dairy cow. The calf is separated from its mother soon after birth; it is fed by a stranger and in a short time is completely out of touch with its mother who neither recognizes it nor is recognized by it.

The brief demonstrated support for the idea of integrating First Nations children into public schools, noting that the fact that

> an increasing number of progressive Indian parents are seeking the right to withdraw their children from the residential schools ... and to enter their children in municipally operated schools, shows that there is an appreciation of day school education. The progress of these children who are attending municipally operated schools compares favourably with that of their white schoolmates.[90]

The association concluded that children in day schools made "faster progress" and acquired "facility in the use of English much more readily" than residential school students. One of the few places for residential schools, in the IAA's opinion, was on reserves that were "so completely inadequate that it is impossible for the Indians to remain on the reserve and stay alive." The Stoney Reserve was given as an example of such a reserve.[91] Due to lack of space in local schools on that reserve, Indian Affairs was proposing to send children from the Stoney Reserve to the Edmonton school. The Brocket Local of the IAA wrote, "The parents would be perfectly justified in rejecting any such proposal." It argued, "No child should be brought up away from its parents in an environment entirely unsuited to that to which it must return."[92] A residential school on the reserve, in other words, was preferable to sending children to a more distant residential school.

The IAA recognized three other situations in which residential schooling might play a role. First, some reserves might wish to maintain existing residential schools. Second, a certain number of residential schools were required to house orphans and children whose parents could not provide them with "proper home surroundings." Third, what it termed a "semi-residential school" would meet the needs of parents who were home only part of the time.[93]

The IAA also argued that those residential schools that continued in operation required a substantial funding increase. "The present per capita grant of $170 per annum and $15 extra cost of living bonus is totally inadequate. No school can function on approximately sixty cents per day per child." According to the IAA, in the United States, the residential school per capita grant was $335. It recommended the Canadian grant be increased to $300. It also called for an end to the half-day system. "No white parents would tolerate for an instant such a form of education," which the IAA described as being "equivalent to child labour."[94]

On a more localized level, the Goodfish Lake Local of the Alberta Indian Association provided the following list of reasons for why it opposed sending students to residential school in Edmonton and St. Paul des Métis (the Blue Quills school).

1) The distance to either Edmonton or St. Paul des Métis.
2) The children are disrespectful to their parents and disobedient.
3) The children are poorly clothed at the residential school, particularly Edmonton.
4) The half time work system retards progress and finally completely discourages the children themselves from further studies without substituting an interest in place of the interest in learning.
5) Children who are removed from the residential schools and sent to day schools are put back a grade or two, indicating that standards are not maintained in the residential schools according to the grade indicated.
6) Segregation of the children in Indian residential schools is not in the best interests of Indian welfare. Indian children should be educated along with white children for the best interests of both.
7) School nurses, employed by many school divisions, could check the health of Indian children.
8) Parents are not informed of their children's illnesses.
9) Children attending day school near the reserve can speak much better English than those who attend the residential schools.

10) Overcrowding in the classrooms and mass instruction retard the brighter child and render valueless whatever English he may have learned at home before going to school.

11) Institutional care is over severe.

12) Bullying and, in some cases, other difficulties of a moral nature, are prevalent in residential schools.[95]

The Union of Saskatchewan Indians brief accepted that residential schools had a place on large reserves (communities with a low population density). Such schools had to be "properly equipped, adequately financed and efficiently staffed to provide the highest possible type of education." The student labour requirement should be abolished, and the time formerly spent on chores should be devoted to "essential studies, physical exercise and organized games."[96] The Saskatchewan brief also called for a separation of church and school, recommending that "public schools interdenominational in character should replace the existing institutions."[97]

When asked to compare residential schools with day schools, Andrew Paull of the North American Indian Brotherhood said, "Day schools should be set up in a lot of places and you should retain your present residential schools for underprivileged children."[98] In subsequent testimony, he said residential schools were appropriate for families that were nomadic.[99]

Drawing on his own experience, John Tootoosis, the president of the Union of Saskatchewan Indians, made the argument that residential schooling shattered the bonds between parent and child.

> The Indian child in the boarding school is brought up, he is put in a room there and he does not have any contact with the outside world. When he is through the door is opened and he walks out into the outside world about which he knows nothing. It is different at the public schools. I have my boys in the public school and I find that they are much more obedient and show a greater respect to their parents; in other words the discipline is better in the day schools. When the children come back from the residential schools I have an awful time with them compared to those I keep at home. The children whom I have not kept at home, who are at these residential schools, have no respect for their parents at all. I know that for a fact. There are many, many parents who will bear me out in that statement.

When asked if he meant that "the discipline in residential schools is not good," Tootoosis responded, "It may be all right while they are in school, but after they come out they don't have that."[100]

Joseph Dreaver from Saskatchewan also pointed out that family relations were broken up even within the schools. "We have had cases in these residential schools where a brother and sister are attending the same school and they have to get permission

from the principal in order to talk to each other. They cannot go near each other. I do not think that tends to give a home atmosphere in the schools."[111]

Those bands that supported residential schools often had a school on their reserve, allowing band members to have more regular contact with children. In these cases, although the band accepted the continued existence of the school, its brief pointed to the inadequacies of the facility. The Brocket Local of the Indian Association of Alberta listed the following concerns with residential schooling on that reserve.

> In the case of the R.C. School—it simply cannot standup [sic] to the winds we have on this reserve.
>
> Some years back this school was supported by two iron rods on the second floor running cross wise [sic]. One rod is on the west end of the building, and the other on the east end.
>
> Under the present conditions it is worse off than it was before.
>
> In the boys' dormitory, for instance on windy nights, they have to hold their beds to prevent them from banging together.
>
> In the girls' dormitory which is on the west end of the building the smaller girls are awakened from their sleep and start crying for fear the building will blow over.
>
> Another proof that the building is unfit for occupation is that the roof leaks when it rains and when the snow is melting.

The local said that similar conditions existed at the Anglican school on the reserve. The parents were not opposed to residential schooling itself, because the schools were located on the reserve. "However," they wrote, "the work system should, in the opinion of the members of this Association be abolished and full school hours with periods of organized play at proper times be substituted."[112]

The band at Cold Lake, Alberta, called for the construction of a residential school in their community, and recommended that the per capita grant "should be set on a cost plus basis which could easily be established by an independent commission or by an official of Indian Affairs." It also recommended that teachers be made members of the federal civil service.[113]

Consistent throughout the presentations to the committee was the repeated and extensive criticism of the half-day system. John Tootoosis told the committee that

> the reason the Indian is opposed to child labour at the boarding schools is this: when a child works in a boarding school he is supposed to learn how to work. It might be part of his exercise, but he can have exercise in playing games after school. But whatever work he does in that school he is not so interested as he would be working at home if he was attending day school and if he was really doing something for his own use. In that case he would see what he is trying to

> parishioner. It would be part of his benefit, and he would appreciate it. He would be more interested in keeping on doing it than he would when he is at boarding school. I know that for a fact, because I have been in school myself.[111]

Other witnesses also shared their personal experiences. Norman Lickers, a former Mohawk Institute student, was serving as the joint committee's Indigenous counsel. He told the committee:

> When we got up in the morning we did chores, we had breakfast, and after that we went out and did what ever else we were told to do. There was no actual instructions about it, I mean as to why certain things were planted, or as to the necessity of rotation of crops, or anything like that. We just went out and did what we were told. And then, as to the cattle that were there, we were never given any instruction as to the finer points of cattle raising or breeding. And the same with other branches of farming, we were not given any instruction whatsoever. The same applies to fruits, to chickens, to hogs to everything about the farm. That was my experience in connection with these schools. We were given just enough instruction in school to know that we were dissatisfied when we went back to the reserve, and yet we never got enough instruction with which we could go on.[112]

On the same subject, Aleah Spence from Saskatchewan said that when he attended an Anglican residential school in The Pas, Manitoba, "I learned how to carry wood, how to plant potatoes and how to grease an engine. I had the privilege of walking around acting as the aid to the engineer. I learned a lot. At least, I know which side of the potato comes up first." He said he was not opposed to teaching students how to perform useful chores, but, he said, students needed more than a half-day in class.[113]

Chief Joseph Dreaver from Saskatchewan told the committee members that in the opinion of many parents, what was going on in schools amounted to child labour. "It is not just a question of showing the children how to do these things, it is a question of getting the work done because, apparently, these schools have not enough money to carry on without child labour. The grain that is raised and the proceeds from the cattle which are kept all helps the school."[114]

Brigadier Oliver Martin, who had been raised on the Six Nations Reserve and had gone on to become an Ontario magistrate, testified about his experience as a school inspector in the 1930s. He told the committee members it was his observation that at the Mohawk Institute, the "vocational training which the children got there consisted chiefly of the girls doing the necessary housework and the boys doing the farm labour and chores around the stables." While he did not wish to disparage the work that the churches had done, he felt the time had come "when the primary education of our Indian children should take place in undenominational [sic] day schools."[115]

The Lower Kootenay Band's brief contended that, as a result of underfunding of the Cranbrook school,

> [illegible] children spend too much time in [illegible] duties and learn chores. This could be changed if we are told by the use of electrical power. Much of the labour of pooling potatoes, sewing clothes by hand [illegible], washing floors by hand, milking cows and doing other chores could be eliminated by the use of electricity driven machinery.

The band pointed out that the school was only two and a half miles (four kilometres) from a power source.[xxi]

There was much less consensus about another matter: the role that denominational schools should play in Aboriginal education. There were strongly divergent views expressed by First Nations witnesses to the joint committee. The Saint Team Chief, L. Big Canoe from Georgina Island, Ontario, asked that the "system of using missionary teachers be abolished. We would like to see our day school system supervised by a school board, as in white communities, so that a properly qualified teacher will always get the appointment."[xxii] The Saint from the band at Alexnick, British Columbia, stated, "We are pleased to have schools if our children are taught education and learn to be smart Indians, not religion, the catechism and hymns. The priests are there to teach catechism and hymns in church not taking children's time off education."[xxiii]

Andrew Paull recommended that

> the school system be gradually controlled by the state. One who believed that is that the responsibility for education is upon the state. We do not want you to kick out the churches entirely. But we want you to take hold of these schools, and instead of the churches looking after the Indians on the basis of charity the state will pay these churches to educate the Indians. You are now delegating your responsibility in education to the churches. We want you to assume that responsibility in turn. That means that you can continue your denominational schools but under government pay from top to bottom. That is what we mean.[xxiv]

In a written presentation, the Fort Vermilion Band from Alberta said that its members favoured the existing system of church-administered education, adding that they believed the per capita grants should be increased. They said they would "prefer to see our children without instruction" at all, rather than have to accept non-denominational schooling.[xxv]

The presentation from the Fort Smith Band to the Northwest Territories spoke highly of the accomplishments of the Roman Catholic day school and the Roman Catholic residential schools in Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution. The brief, signed by Chief Abraham Denesyouhole, Andrel Denesyouhole, Baptiste Arrand, Baptiste Wyatt, Jonny Kirdeon, Adam Calumet, and Germain Tourangeau, stated that it was the sincere hope of the band that

> the Government will leave the direction of these schools in the hands of those who are now in charge of them, and who have proven over the long period of

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> costly. We are offended because our Farm Instructors are not Agriculture College graduates and our Cooks have not their diplomas in Household Science. Our answer is very simple: What can be expected when the Government grant averages only fifty cents per child per day? With the prices now prevailing the absurdity of this amount is obvious. It would not provide food and clothing on the desired standards, but the Church has in addition to these primary needs to operate a boarding school, with all the necessary costs of salaries, fuel, lighting, equipment and countless other items.[112]

In November 1946, the Anglicans had called for a 50% increase in the residential school per capita grant. Even this, the Anglicans said, "would not be sufficient to attain the standards we desire and to offer the higher salaries which our workers are entitled to. To date, however, no advance has been received and 1946 added heavily to our debt." They argued for replacing the per capita system, which saw school income fluctuate with attendance, with one in which the government paid "the actual cost of operation as verified by Government auditors."[113] The government would wait more than another ten years, until 1957, before introducing such a system.

Like the Anglicans, the United Church pointed to the ongoing underfunding of the residential school system. Quoting from a negative inspection report on a reserve day school, Ussery said, "Such a condition is, in our judgment, the result of failure on the part — not of the officials of the department, — but of the members of the House of Commons to realize that Indian education is a serious matter and to provide the funds which are necessary."[114] In particular, Ussery said, the United Church resented

> being criticized for failure to provide adequate food and clothing in residential schools, and for not engaging highly qualified staff in sufficient number, when the failure arises from the lack of grant provided by the government and the House of Commons, — which had consistently starved the educational department of the Indian Affairs Branch.

Rather than estimate the amount that would be needed to properly fund the schools, he suggested that the federal government operate a "pilot" school to "establish costs to be paid to all schools."[115]

The Women's Missionary Society (Western Division) of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, which was responsible for the operation of the two Presbyterian schools, did not make a presentation to the committee. Instead, Robert Johnston, the chairperson of the Presbyterian Church Board of Missions, presented a message on their behalf. He told the committee, "The per capita grant they are receiving at the present time is not nearly sufficient for what has to be done." The Women's Missionary Society was spending $15,000 more on the two schools that the Presbyterians operated than the federal government was contributing. Despite this, there was a growing operating deficit.[116] The brief continued:

> There is no part of our work that appeals more to the members of our church than that among the Indians and we believe that it is essential to maintain the present high standards as well as to provide the children under our care with adequate and suitable food so that their health will improve. Under the present grant this is not possible.
>
> We would therefore humbly request that you would earnestly consider an increase of fifty per cent in the per capita grant.[139]

Both the Catholic and Anglican briefs defended the half-day system. Speaking for the Catholics, Plourde acknowledged that it was not possible to "give the Indian children both the full day class curriculum and also adequate vocational training at the same time." They did feel that "for most Indian children it seems that the half day system, completed by properly organized and practical vocational training would be satisfactory."[140]

The Anglicans argued that "for the great majority of Indian pupils a wise combination of classroom and practical training is best for the kind of life they will live. If residential schools were operated on the principle of all day in the classroom, the result would be of doubtful value and the cost enormously increased." They noted that since the schools were receiving grants for manual training, the students were no longer "merely doing the chores of the institution."[141]

The Anglicans thought that in regard to curriculum, "the specialized nature of Indian education demands a much greater degree of direction from the Federal authority and that this is in the interest of the great majority of the pupils."[142] In a similar vein, the United Church called on the federal government to not simply follow the provincial curriculum, but to develop a curriculum that would meet the needs of Aboriginal children.[143]

The criticisms raised by First Nations witnesses regarding *Indian Act* restrictions against the crossover of Catholic and Protestant children into schools of the opposite denomination prompted a series of questions from committee members and their counsel. Norman Lickers asked Plourde if the *Indian Act* should take into account "those people who believe in the old Indian religion?" Plourde said he found the question puzzling since, as a Christian nation, Canada was committed to having "all its citizens belonging to one or other of the Christian churches. Under such circumstances I cannot see why we should foster aboriginal beliefs." Ironically, in coming years, Catholic representatives would defend this provision on the grounds that it protected the right of parental choice. In this instance, however, it was making a self-serving argument that the choice of non-Christian parents was immaterial.[144] When George Dorey of the United Church was asked whether people who followed the "native religion" were denied freedom of religion in regard to the education of their children, he suggested the whole issue had been "conjured up." In the case of the people of the Six Nations who belonged to what he referred to as the "Long House," he said, "I don't

know how far it is aboriginal and I am not as sure as some people are about how much it is a belief."[144] But, although he questioned the existence of Aboriginal religions, he did argue that the *Indian Act* provision was "unsound." Dorey stated that it was the position of the United Church that

> the time has come seriously to consider the establishment of Indian education on a completely non-sectarian basis, making provision at the same time for the missionaries to be given a limited amount of time each day for religious instruction, on the same basis as this privilege is granted in a number of the provinces.[145]

Although there were significant differences among the churches in their approaches to a variety of education issues, there is no question that all four churches made it clear that the government level of funding was inadequate. The Protestant churches also made it clear that the inadequacy made it impossible for them to properly feed, clothe, house, care for, and educate children in residential schools. This testimony was given publicly, and the minutes of these hearings were publicly available. It is also worth noting that no one challenged the churches in their assertions that funding was inadequate.

Much of Indian Affairs Branch Director R. A. Hoey's 1946 presentation to the committee focused on education, particularly the need to dramatically increase the amount spent on education. While there were 16,438 students in 255 federal day schools and 76 residential schools, there were 28,429 school-aged First Nations children. As Hoey pointed out, this meant there were "approximately 12,000 children for whom no educational facilities have been provided." The 12,000 students not receiving any schooling amounted to 42% of the school-aged First Nations population. Most of these students lived "in the northern sections of the provinces, in the Yukon and in the Northwest Territories."[146]

Hoey told the committee, "I hope you will agree with me when I state that these facilities should be provided at once."[147] Subsequent witnesses explained that between 350 and 400 classrooms were needed to meet that goal.[148]

Indian Affairs not only had to provide schools for the 12,000 existing students without classes, but it also had to meet the needs of a growing First Nations population. Hoey testified:

> Our school population is increasing at the rate of approximately 150 students per annum. To follow the present policy and provide residential school accommodation for 50 per cent of these and Indian day school accommodation for the other half, would mean the construction of a residential school which, fully equipped, would cost today approximately $175,000 and five Indian day schools at an approximate cost of $8,000 each.[149]

In other words, without a significant annual increase, the number of Aboriginal students not in school would continue to grow.

In his testimony, Bernard Neary, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, made it clear that the quality of education offered at the Indian Affairs schools was substandard. "We have too many teachers who are merely going through the motions, who let the children, as you say, fill in time." He noted that there was no proper school inspector for British Columbia. When one was hired, that individual would have to inspect seventy-six day and residential schools that were scattered all over the province. The only way to get to the school at Christie Island, he said, was "by being carried in on the backs of Indians."[150] Educational achievement was also limited. The commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia, D. M. MacKay, told the committee that of the 4,000 First Nations students enrolled in schools in British Columbia, only 87 had reached Grade Eight.[151] MacKay recognized that the half-day system was one of the barriers to First Nations children's academic success. When asked what was needed to eliminate the half-day system, MacKay said, "If we are going to relieve the Indian children of any of the arduous tasks they are required to perform at the present time it will be necessary I should say to increase the per capita grant considerably to provide for more staff."[152]

In coming years, in internal documents, various Indian Affairs officials would express a variety of highly critical views of the role that the churches—particularly the Roman Catholic Church—played in the operation of the schools. But, as Neary acknowledged to the committee, the churches were subsidizing the schools through the provision of cheap labour. "The actual operation of a residential school properly equipped and with a civil service staff certainly would cost us a great deal more than running them on a denominational basis."[153] In addition to low-cost staff, the churches also provided subsidies to the schools. However, the government did not know how large the overall subsidy was, since the money was paid to individual schools, not to the government. According to Hoey, churches paid for all costs not covered by the per capita grant, and, he added, "in most cases it is quite substantial."[154]

When asked what he thought the future of residential schools and the role of the churches in First Nations education would be, British Columbia Indian Affairs Commissioner MacKay said, "I am satisfied in my own heart and mind that the residential school has reached its peak in Indian education, and that it will be replaced gradually by the Indian day school. Whether this will mean the elimination of the position of the church is I think a matter that will be the responsibility of the legislators to decide."[155] According to Hoey, Indian Affairs had not built a new residential school since he joined the branch in 1936, except to replace some of the ones that had burned down. He did note that the Roman Catholic Church had, on its own, built a number of schools in northern Alberta. He said, "I think it would be fair in stating that we are leaning toward the establishment and operation of Indian day schools rather

than residential schools. I made that statement having in mind how difficult it would be to secure a permit for the establishment of a new residential school."[156]

Indian Affairs education policy was being developed with little day-to-day input from Aboriginal people. There were no First Nations people working for the education and welfare sections of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. According to Neary, the most senior First Nations official in the Welfare and Training section was Joseph Hill, the supervising principal of the Six Nations school system.[157] There were no First Nations people teaching at any of the Indian Affairs schools in British Columbia.[158]

The federal government's own evidence highlighted the need for a significant increase in funding and, like many of the submissions to the joint committee, expressed a federal preference for day schools instead of residential schools. The need to provide new classrooms for over 12,000 students, however, meant that Indian Affairs would be in no hurry to shut down the existing residential schools. To do so would simply require it to build even more day schools. Ending the half-day system would also require more teachers and more classrooms. Because so many of the First Nations children who were not going to school lived in northern and remote regions—and the government held that residential schooling was appropriate for those regions—the prospect also existed for one last extension of the system. This is indeed what happened in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Québec, and, in a limited fashion, in northwestern Ontario.

Northern expansion of the system

As R. A. Hoey and D. M. MacKay had intimated in their testimony to the Special Joint Committee, the residential school system in Canada had reached its peak with little prospect for expansion. This was to remain the case for most of southern Canada, where the thrust of Indian Affairs policy from the 1950s was to assert greater financial control over the schools with the eventual goal of bringing the system to an end. This was not the case in northern and remote communities. As Indian Affairs official R. F. Battle wrote in 1957, "residential school accommodation, as traditionally known to us, will be needed in northern isolated areas for a number of years to come."[159]

The most significant expansion of residential schools in the post-1940 period took place in the Canadian North. As late as 1948, there were only six residential schools in the North: two in the Yukon and four in the Northwest Territories. In the late 1950s, the federal government remade this system. All but one of the old church-run residential schools were closed by 1960. In the larger population centres, they were replaced by federal day schools and large residences, usually run by either the Anglican or Catholic church. In smaller communities, particularly in the eastern Arctic and Arctic Québec, day schools and small hostels (often housing only six students) were constructed. (The

complex history of this expansion, which was overseen by the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, as opposed to the Indian Affairs Branch, is examined elsewhere in this report.) While this expansion ran counter to the general Indian Affairs approach of reducing residential schooling during this period, it was completely in keeping with a longer Canadian tradition. By this tradition, residential schools were established in the Canadian West in the 1880s as part of an effort to exert control over an internal colony in preparation for intensified economic exploitation of that region. The same rationale applies to the expansion of residential schooling that took place in Québec in the 1950s.

Québec

As late as 1946, there were only two residential schools in Québec: both were located at Fort George on James Bay. The two schools had only thirty-seven students in total.[160] Between 1952 and 1963, Indian Affairs founded four residential schools in Québec, three under the management of the Roman Catholic Church and the fourth operated by the Anglicans. This expansion was part of a broader colonization of Québec's mid-North. This is the region north of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa valleys and south of the Hudson Bay and Labrador Sea watersheds. This region includes Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Haute Mauricie, Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River from the Saguenay River to Labrador. Until the 1940s, there had been little non-Aboriginal settlement or development in the mid-North, and the Aboriginal population had supported itself by trapping and traditional economic activities. The Second World War, however, focused greater interest in developing the economic resources of the region. To facilitate this development, Indian Affairs began to play a larger and more direct role in the lives of Aboriginal people in the region. This included the relocating of some communities, the establishment of reserves, and the opening of residential schools.

Even up until 1948, this region was seen by D. M. MacKay, who had taken over from R. A. Hoey as director of Indian Affairs, as being on the "fringe of civilization." MacKay was skeptical of the benefit of extending residential schooling to the region.

> There is, of course, considerable opposition from some of these Indians towards sending their children (particularly the boys) to residential schools. They claim that an absence of six or seven years at such a school prevents a boy from ever becoming a good trapper. As you probably know, these Indians can carry unbelievable loads on their backs while portaging. Their argument is that a boy must be trained to such a task and the other skills and crafts of bush life from the time he is 8 or 9 years of age.

> If we are providing schools as an 'education for life,' their argument is a sound one, as it would seem certain that these Indians will never be anything but trappers. The fur development projects of this area are designed to provide them with an economically sound mode of living.

MacKay advised that "great caution" be exercised before expanding residential schooling in the region.[161] Instead of considering education policy in terms of the future and present needs of those First Nations people who relied on hunting and trapping to secure their livelihood, officials decided to pursue the expansion of residential schooling into mid-northern Québec. This decision was not out of keeping with the decision to expand residential schools in the Canadian North. In this case, the Indian Affairs goal of increasing the number of First Nations students who had access to education trumped its intent to make less use of residential schooling. The construction of schools at Maliotenam (Sept-Îles), Amos, Pointe Bleue, and La Tuque was also driven by pressure from local Catholic and Anglican church officials and, in some cases, in response to parental objections to the practice of sending their children to even more distant residential schools.

The first residential school to be founded in Québec in the post-war period was situated near Sept-Îles on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. Although francophone settlers had lived along the North Shore and exploited its resources for centuries, in the 1950s, less than 1% of Québec's population resided either along the shore or in its hinterland. This relatively small population of European origin in the region was due to the North Shore's marginal agricultural utility, the seasonal migration of fishermen and forestry workers (whose families lived elsewhere), and the exhaustion of the region's easily accessible timber. All this changed after the war when the growth of mining, hydroelectricity, and inland forestry brought a population boom to the region, remaking villages such as Sept-Îles into urban centres.[162]

As urbanization became a force in the region for the first time, the federal government sought to encourage the North Shore's Aboriginal population to settle on reserves featuring newly built homes and schools. As a result, the majority of Innu First Nation families slowly came to adopt a sedentary lifestyle instead of spending much of the year hunting and trapping in the bush. In the early 1950s, Indian Affairs undertook a program of forced removal of all Innu families living at Sept-Îles and at Moisie, a village located about twenty kilometres to the east, to Maliotenam, a reserve created in 1949 on a sandy plateau situated between the two rapidly growing towns. (The reserve is now known as "Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-Utenam.") The federal government constructed several dozen homes, a church, and a community centre at Maliotenam.[163] Indian Affairs established this village in the hopes of opening up to non-Aboriginal settlers the land occupied by the original reserve created in 1906 (Uashat). By the post-war years, it occupied prime real estate in the heart of Sept-Îles. However, despite the pressure brought to bear by religious and municipal authorities,

as well as by Indian Affairs, only a minority of families from Sept-Îles (Uashat) decided to join the Innu from Moisie in moving to the new reserve. As a result, in addition to the new reserve community, the original community of Uashat also still exists in its Sept-Îles location.[164] (The partial relocation has created internal community divisions that are still felt today, according to some of the Survivors who spoke to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.) In the years immediately following the war, Napoléon-Alexandre Labrie, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the St. Lawrence Gulf Diocese, "made several requests for the erection of an Indian residential school at Seven Islands, P.Q. This school would provide educational facilities for the Indians living along the north shore of the St. Lawrence," including those whose families traditionally traded at Sept-Îles, Moisie, La Romaine, St. Augustine, Mingan, and Natashquan.[165] Indian Affairs decided to target these children for residential education because it was "difficult, if not impossible, to operate schools throughout the whole academic year."[166] Additional support came from Indian agent J. M. Pauze, who thought a residential school was needed to help contest what he saw as the growth of tuberculosis in the community.[167]

Construction was delayed by difficulties in determining a location for the school.[168] Representatives of the Oblate order objected to a proposed site because it was too close to the newly established Innu village on the Maliotenam Reserve. In a letter to Indian Affairs, J. O. Plourde, the superintendent of the Oblate Indian Welfare and Training Commission, expressed

> serious objections to having indian [sic] families as close as it seems your intention to have them at this new school. The discipline which it is necessary to have for school children, particularly for older boys and girls, becomes almost impossible to put in force, if parents, young men and young women are allowed to talk and see school children at will, as they shall be able to do, if the houses are erected according to the present plan.[169]

Plourde's objections were successful.[170]

The Maliotenam school opened in September 1952. It functioned as a combined residential and day school, with 273 students in grades One to Seven. Of these, 168 lived at the school, even though its official capacity was 150.[171] By January 1953, approximately 190 students were boarders and applications for eleven more were under consideration.[172] The number fell to 169 during the 1953–54 academic year, largely as a result of Indian Affairs' awareness that the school had been overcrowded since its opening.[173]

In another part of northern Quebec, the Abitibi and Témiscamingue regions, the population had grown by 143% during the 1930s, due to colonization projects and mining development. This dramatic increase in population placed significant pressure on the Algonquin people, who had traditionally constituted the majority of the region's population and who continued to earn their living by hunting and trapping.[174]

By 1945, Indian Affairs had decided to purchase a farm near the town of Amos, in the Abitibi region, to be used as a school.[73] In 1951, in the face of such new population pressures, and partially due to the desire to see their children attend school, 207 Algonquins decided to relocate from their camps along the Harricana River. They moved to Pikogan, a new village founded on lands purchased with band funds, approximately three kilometers from Amos. The St. Marc-de-Figuery residential school at Amos began accepting students in October 1951.[74] Although the local Catholic bishop had played a central role in establishing the school, the church turned responsibility for the operation of the school over to the Oblate order.[75]

By the end of December, a total of 108 children lived at the school (66 boys and 42 girls). The school's personnel included six members of female religious orders, four male members, and nine Aboriginal lay people.[76] By the beginning of the following school year, Indian Affairs officials had begun using an enrolment of 210 students when preparing its budget, even though the branch's director continued to report that the school had "an authorized enrolment of 200 pupils."[77]

The schools at Mallioternam and Amos were established in regions with relatively large Aboriginal populations who had experienced colonization for only a brief time. The Pointe Bleue school, however, was situated on the shores of Lac St. Jean, an immense body of fresh water whose shores had been settled by Canadians of European origin during the second half of the nineteenth century. By the time this school opened in 1900 on the reserve at Pointe Bleue (Mashteuiatsh), a majority of Innu had taken up year-round residence there.

In 1908, Indian Superintendent Edgar Antoumaft decided to send four Innu children from the reserve to the Roman Catholic residential school at Fort George, much further north and in a Cree rather than Innu homeland area.[78] Antoumaft sent increasing numbers of Innu children north each year: from four children during the 1909-10 school year, this number jumped to nineteen in 1910-11 and thirty-three in 1913-14.[79] Indian Affairs school inspectors and other officials lobbied in vehemence argued against this continuing influx of students from the South to attend Fort George, arguing, among other things, that "the area in the Albany basin be served by this school rather than having the children brought from Pointe Bleue."[80] Despite this, the number of Innu children enrolled at Fort George remained high through to the end of the decade.[81]

In December 1952, the Oblates called for two additional residential schools in "central Quebec," the first at Pointe Bleue and the second "either at Pierre-au-Dédalumes." The Oblates asserted that these schools were necessary because "the natives are forced, in order to make a living, to work in various lumber camps, away from home and a number of them spend several months every winter on the trapliners."[82]

In 1953, John D'Antoues, the regional superintendent of Indian agencies for Quebec, reported to Philip Phelan, Indian Affairs' Ottawa-based superintendent of education,

on the Innu children attending the Roman Catholic residential school at Fort George. "Although we admit that it is practically a convenience to send these children to Sarcelles [sic], we unfortunately cannot find any better solution at the present time and, therefore, we will recommend that the children from Poste-de-la-Baleine go back to Fort George again at the end of this month."

He stated:

> These children come from families of trappers who spend the whole winter in the bush and from broken up families. They are definitely candidates for a residential school and this is why I have told you on many occasions already that we should have a residential school right there at Poste-de-la-Baleine. We have over sixty children from the agency who should be in residence but for some of them it is just impossible to think of sending them to Fort George.

D'Astous added that the residential school at Poste-de-la-Baleine was also necessary because Mathewsuem's enrolment was over capacity and needed to be reduced.[54]

By September 1956, the Oblates had negotiated the construction of a "200-foot residential school building with 8 to 10 classrooms."[55] Indian Affairs approved the construction of the school by November.[56] In early January 1957, the federal school board accepted that residential school boundaries could be altered to its schools.[57] The Poste-de-la-Baleine residential school opened on October 7, 1958.[58] It was a mixed day and residential school with 144 students living in residence.[59]

The Inuit Anglican residential school that opened in Quebec during this period was located in La Tuque in the upper St. Maurice Valley. Established at the turn of the twentieth century, La Tuque had grown into a city of nearly 10,000 inhabitants by 1951.[60] Although its population was dominated by French Canadian Catholics, it was also home to a small Protestant community. The region's pulp-and-paper industry had helped finance ambitious public works projects, making it an attractive home to both investment and settlement, despite its isolation from other urban centres.[61]

By early 1957, the Anglican Church and Indian Affairs had agreed to establish a residential school for Aboriginal children in "north central Quebec."[62] From the beginning, both the Anglican and Indian Affairs bureaucrats conceived of the residential school as, in the words of Henry G. Cook, the superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, "a hostel for the children of the Montagnais and Waswanipi bands of north central Quebec."[63] This decision arose from the belief that children of Anglican families from Quebec should be educated in the province rather than being forced, as most had been for some time, to travel to Ontario for access to Protestant residential schools such as the Mohawk Institute in Brantford.[64]

It was becoming increasingly difficult to get parents to send their children to Ontario. In November 1956, Hervé Lapointe, the superintendent of the Amos Indian Agency, acknowledged that "the Montagnais Indians living on the railroad line were always reluctant to send their children back to school [in Ontario]. For many years,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Church school in Massey, Ontario (Mount Elgin), wrote in 1955 that "the pupilage of this school is considerably below the economic operating level at the present time, thus creating considerable difficulty in financing and carrying out a proper training program."[114] In the face of wartime inflation, in 1942, Indian Affairs made a special payment of $10 a student to all residential schools, which is paid again the following year and increased to $15 in 1944–45.[115]

Although the number of students the government was prepared to fund had fallen by 7, 2696, enrolment fell only by 2,896 (from 9,827 in 1939–40 to 6,778 in 1940–41). As a result, less money was available to feed, clothe, house, and teach more children.[116] The trend continued. According to a brief presented by United Church official George Dorey, there were 6,298 students in attendance at residential schools across Canada in September 1943. The federal government, however, was prepared to fund only a maximum pupilage of 5,715. The situation was further complicated by the fact that twenty-two schools had not managed to recruit enough students to meet their ordered pupilage. The total shortfall at these schools was 257. Therefore, Canada was paying a per capita grant for only 7,858 of the 6,298 students enrolled in residential schools. The churches were making up the difference in cost.[117]

The churches highlighted the extent of underfunding by pointing to the level of support given to Indian boarding schools in the United States. There, the per capita grant for a boarding school with fewer than 200 pupils was $335. The 1941 per capita grant for the Canadian schools, most of which had fewer than 200 pupils, was $170. In 1943, a committee of representatives from the church organizations involved in operating the residential schools in Canada argued that the difference between the Canadian and American per capita rates was "the difference between the Government scale of expenditures in regard to salaries, pensions, etc., and the scale of a purely humanitarian enterprise such as the Church, which commands the services of so many men and women whose first motive is service."[118] Despite these arguments, the reduction in the pupilage was not lifted until 1948.[119]

Rising expenses continued to have an impact on the schools' ability to care for students properly. In seeking an increase in the per capita grant in 1947, George Dorey wrote:

> We in the case of your whom we are dealing with our church budgets, and I may say that we do not contemplate, with any sort of happy feeling, having to put in church money to do the Government's work, and, further, that any request for an increased grant of church funds for the operation of Indian schools is going to create quite a feeling in our Board that the Government is not discharging its obligations for the education of the Indian people.[120]

In the post-war years, the government did significantly increase residential school funding. There was, for example, a 17% increase in the per capita grant, beginning in

October 1947.[101] Table 32.1 shows the annual enrolment and spending on residential schools during this period.

Table 32.1: Indian Affairs funding of residential schools, 1946-47 to 1950-51.

Year	Number of residential school students	Amount spent by government on residential schools	Amount spent per student
1946-47	9,398	1,766,509.03	189.83
1947-48	9,566	2,223,652.20	247.86
1948-49	9,568	2,917,385.80	311.46
1949-50	9,316	3,354,920.20	360.12
1950-51	9,357	3,928,258.38	419.82

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1947*, 116; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1948*, 113; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1949*, 139; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1950*, 68; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1951*, 13; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1947*, 115; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1948*, 113; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1949*, 114; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1950*, 62; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1951*, 52.

Over a five-year period, residential school funding increased per student by over 121%. After adjusting for inflation, this was still an increase of 66%.[102] However, these increases were calculated on very low funding bases, and followed years of operational neglect. Many schools continued to struggle for lack of proper funding. In 1948, Indian Affairs official H. N. Woodsworth argued for an increase in the per capita grant for the Hobbema, Alberta, school, since the current grant was "not enough to cover the operating costs of this school." He added that he thought the grant was "lower than other similar Residential Schools."[103]

Government officials were frustrated by the fact that they could not control how the per capita grant money was spent. For example, Indian Affairs official I. Coleman wrote in 1947 that he suspected that some of the Anglican schools funded by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) "have become seriously in debt and that the Departmental grants, instead of being used promptly for the school for which they are paid, are used to pay the more pressing accounts of those less favoured institutions." According to Coleman, the MSCC had been slow to pay the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school's accounts with local merchants. As a result, the principal had found it difficult to secure supplies.[104]

Into the 1950s, the government also had difficulty in controlling who attended the schools. In 1953, for example, Indian Affairs refused to provide a per capita grant for two students attending the Christie, British Columbia, school because their admission had not been approved by the department.[105] Increased enrolments drove up costs and diluted the impact of improved funding when enrolment exceeded the pupilage.

Indian Affairs was also disturbed by ongoing requests to pay for buildings and repairs for which the branch had not given advance approval. In 1946, R. A. Hoey reminded principals that it was Indian Affairs policy to "render financial aid towards the cost of buildings and equipment only when the prior authority of the department has been obtained."[216]

Principals resented government attempts to exert control over the way they ran their schools. In 1948, Sechelt, British Columbia, school principal H. F. Dunlop accused Indian Affairs of making "decisions in the most minute matters in opposition to wishes of the principal and the Agent whose advise [sic] is sought in all matters relating to the school." He pointed to a government denial of a grant of $45 to purchase an electric motor for the manual training shop, which would be used to power equipment supplied by the government. In another case, only half the needed amount was provided for plumbing repairs, and, in another, a plan to convert a barn to a gymnasium was "being suspiciously examined as though it were the brain child of a moronic mind." To him, Indian Affairs was "tightfisted," its grants were "inadequate," and its approach to decision making was "stultifying."[217]

In January 1953, the Indian residential school regulations (*Regulations With Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph [a] of Section 114 of the Indian Act*) came into force. In many ways, the regulations were simply a restatement of previous policies: they also represented an attempt by Indian Affairs to exert control over the schools.

The schools were to follow the provincial curriculum and the number of classroom hours was to be determined by the curriculum. The texts were to be the provincial texts and there could be no more than a half-hour of religious instruction a day. Students could not be admitted without Indian Affairs' approval. Indian Affairs could also order the removal of a student. Students could not be suspended, expelled, or discharged without Indian Affairs' approval. Every case of truancy was to be reported to Indian Affairs, and the principal was to take prompt action to ensure the return of truant students. The only condition under which students could be removed from the school without Indian Affairs' approval was when the principal was acting on medical advice.

The principal of every school was required to maintain acceptable standards in relation to staff, enrolment, nutrition, clothing, accommodation, utilities, classroom activities, recreation, counselling, relations with parents, and record keeping and accounting for the funds, stock, and equipment. The principal was to "assume the responsibilities of parent or guardian with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge." Although the admission form for residential school application from this period required parents to place their child under the guardianship of the principal, this requirement had no basis in the *Indian Act*'s education provisions. Pupils were required to "conform to the rules for the conduct and behaviour of pupils

while on or near the school premises or on any premises where any activity of the school is taking place."[248]

In 1954 and again in 1957, the federal government further increased the overall level of funding to residential schools. In both cases, it did so by also assuming greater control over how the money was spent. Starting in September 1954, the federal government "took over responsibility for the employment of teaching staff at all government-owned residential schools."[249] At the same time, the teachers were still under the day-to-day authority of the school principals—who remained church employees. In this arrangement, the teachers could also be required to provide a half-hour a day of religious instruction.[250] According to Indian Affairs, the move brought teachers' pay

> more in accord with revised salary rates in effect for other federal public servants and for teachers employed in schools operated under provincial jurisdiction. The salary ranges for all classifications and grades were increased, annual increments for certain classifications were raised, and a change was made in the requirements for certain classifications. It is expected the revision will assist the Branch to secure certificated and experienced teachers for all positions.[251]

The move was also in keeping with Indian Affairs' preference for asserting greater control over how money was being spent. Since it had assumed the costs of teachers' salaries, Indian Affairs reduced the overall per capita grants to the residential schools by 5%.[252]

The move created complications for the Roman Catholic schools, where most of the teachers were members of religious orders.[253] In 1958, the Oblates reached an agreement with the federal government under which religious staff members would be considered as one body and no specific salary would be assigned to specific individuals. The Oblates also proposed that "the Sisters would continue to work for the Oblates as before and not directly for the Government as it had been proposed."[254]

In 1957, Indian Affairs replaced the per capita system with what was termed a "controlled cost" funding system. The intent of the change, according to Deputy Minister Laval Fortier, was to strengthen Indian Affairs' control over the schools and to "remove the financial difficulties now being encountered by certain schools." The new method would "result in a substantial increase in cost, but it must be pointed out that this was inevitable in any event," due to rising costs. The new formula would not apply to the ten (largely Roman Catholic) church-owned schools, since these schools admitted "non-Indian" (in most cases, Métis) pupils.

Fortier's description of the reasons for adopting the new funding system constitute a very frank admission of the system's failure to that date. He wrote that under the per capita system,

1) There is no uniformity in the standards maintained at the residential schools such as the quality of management and operational staff, quantity and quality

of food and clothing supplied to pupils and the general upkeep of premises and facilities.

2) The Department is not able to exercise any control over the manner in which these funds are expended. This applies particularly to items mentioned in 1 above and also to capital expenditures. Under the per capita grant system there has been no clear definition of authority with regard to building maintenance, renovations and additions to buildings. In many instances, major projects which fall under the above categories have been undertaken by the church authorities without reference to the Department. In many instances the work would not pass engineering standards.

3) The Department has been under constant and continual pressure from the heads of religious denominations and individual principals of schools for increases in the per capita grant rate. Due to the lack of control over the manner in which the funds are expended, it has been difficult, if not impossible, to determine a fair and adequate grant for each school.

4) The per capita grant system is, in effect, a system of making outright donations to the religious denominations, with the principal having unlimited control over the manner in which these funds are expended. In some instances the principals are not good administrators, and it is felt the funds are not being used in the wisest manner.[255]

The new funding model retained elements of the per capita system and was initially described as a "new system of establishing per capita grants." In the past, the schools had been expected to pay for a wide range of costs out of a single per capita grant that had little connection to costs. Under the new system, different budget categories were created; they all had funding ceilings that were related to cost and enrolment.[256]

For example, schools were divided into different classifications, depending on the size of their enrolment. In turn, a salary ceiling was set for each institution. Similarly, food and clothing ceilings were developed per student. Initially, food, clothing, and freight costs were to be based on the previous year's expenditures. Capital costs and major repairs were to become the direct responsibility of the government. The government also took over responsibility for the supply of all major equipment; the purchase of such equipment was to be authorized in advance. Since school farms tended to operate at a loss, the federal government intended to "dispose gradually of these farms," or at least those that were losing money.[257] Schools with more than 250 students were provided with funding to hire a practical nurse. Transportation costs, including the cost of returning students to their home communities at holiday times, were to be covered by the federal government.[258] Actual expenditures on telephone, fuel, and light were to be reimbursed, as were expenditures on household maintenance items and building repairs up to $1,500 per school per year, but not exceeding $200 for any

single project.[259] Although church officials were receptive to the new model, they worried that the various funding ceilings were being set at levels that were too low.[260]

In October 1957, the Treasury Board approved the new funding system, retroactive to the beginning of the calendar year. In approving the policy, the Treasury Board acknowledged with approval the "present policy of restricting the use of the residential schools in view of the high cost of this type of education." It encouraged Indian Affairs to "continue with and intensify its efforts to limit the number of residential schools."[261]

The new funding formula was accompanied by the negotiation of a set of agreements between the government and the churches. Those contracts gave the minister responsible for Indian Affairs "a very substantial degree of control" over the operation of the schools. Such control was needed, it was later argued, because "the standards in many of the church-operated schools had been scandalously low."[262] However, by taking over more responsibility for the schools, the government was placing itself in a situation where it could close the schools with less opposition. The details of the contracts were not finalized until 1961. They required that the schools be operated according to government-issued "rules, regulations, directives and instructions." The contracts were entered into with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada, the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, and the Women's Missionary Society (Western Division) of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.[263]

The Oblates viewed the move to the new system as the precursor to a loss of control over the schools. An internal Oblate paper asked if the contract (and the funding system) was the "thin edge of a wedge" that would eventually push them out of "the education of Indian children." It was argued that the wedge had already been inserted, either when the church sold most of its schools to the government, or when the government began paying teachers' salaries. Overall, the Oblates were hesitant to sign the contract, "not so much because of what it contains as because of what it lacks, i.e. anything which guarantees us a real part to play in the education of Indian children." At the same time, they recognized that there was an advantage in having a contract "by which the Government promises and obligates itself to do something definite."[264]

The change had a real impact on the schools. Residential school funding increased from $8,718,771 in 1957–58 to $11,405,931 in 1958–59, an increase of 23%.[265]

The per capita system lingered on at church-owned schools, leading to regular requests to increase funding. In 1967, the Indian Affairs education director, R. F. Davey, was supporting an Oblate request to increase the per capita grant to the Christie, British Columbia, school from $650 a year to $830. Davey pointed out that under the existing grant, the school could not attract competent teachers or pay its operating staff a minimum of $1.25 an hour. The situation was further complicated by the fact that in order to comply with a fire marshal's directive, the school was being obliged to

reduce its enrolment. Davey also pointed out that for similar reasons, Indian Affairs had increased the grant to the Fort Albany, Ontario, school to $830 a year.[266]

From 1940 to 1960, when the new contracts were negotiated, residential school enrolment remained relatively static. It was 8,774 in 1940–41 and was 9,109 in 1959–60.[267] However, there had been dramatic growth in enrolment in Indian Affairs day schools and in provincial government day schools. Enrolment in Indian Affairs day schools in 1940–41 was 8,651.[268] By 1959–60, it was 18,812.[269] The most significant change in enrolment was in a category that had not even existed twenty years earlier: the number of First Nations students enrolled in grades One to Thirteen in provincial, private, and territorial schools. This figure in 1959–60 was 9,006: just 100 fewer than the number of students attending residential schools.[270] These students were the ones who were being educated under the government's integration policy. It was through the further extension of this policy that the federal government intended to bring residential schooling to an end.

Integration

In its final report, issued in 1949, the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act* made only two recommendations in regards to education.

> Your Committee recommends the revision of those sections of the Act which pertain to education, in order to prepare Indian children to take their places as citizens.
>
> Your Committee, therefore, recommends that wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children.[271]

These two recommendations are really one recommendation. The first one defined the goal, which had remained unchanged since 1883: assimilation. The second laid the groundwork for the method: what would come to be called "integration." Under the integration policy, First Nations students were to be shifted from Indian Affairs schools to public schools. Since residential schools played only a small role in provincial education systems, the committee was—silently—calling for the end of the residential schools.[272]

The Special Joint Committee's recommendations formed the basis of the first section of the 1951 *Indian Act* provisions dealing with education:

> The Governor in Council may authorize the Minister, in accordance with this Act,
>
> (a) to establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children,

(b) to enter into agreements on behalf of His Majesty for the education in accordance with this Act of Indian children, with

(i) the government of a province

(ii) the council of the Northwest Territories

(iii) the council of the Yukon Territory

(iv) a public or separate school board

(v) a religious or charitable organization.[173]

The Roman Catholic Church opposed the provisions that allowed the minister to enter into contracts with provincial and territorial governments and school boards. It was felt that these measures compromised the provisions in the Act that guaranteed that Roman Catholic students would not be sent to schools operated under the Protestants.[174]

From 1951 onwards, the government focus would be on making the fullest use of the powers authorized in subsection (b): the power to contract out its responsibility for the provision of First Nations and Inuit education. The 1951 *Indian Act*, the first major revision to the Act in decades, contained only nine other sections dealing with education: four dealt with attendance, truancy, and expulsion; three affirmed the rights of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches (still making no mention of Aboriginal spirituality); one outlined the minister's authority; and one was a set of definitions. It made only passing reference to residential schools.[175]

In the past, most First Nations students who went to school either lived at home and attended an Indian Affairs day school (often operated by a religious organization) or lived in and attended a residential school (almost always operated by a religious organization). However, in the 1950s, a new series of educational categories were developed. For example, some students who lived in residential schools began to attend classes in Indian Affairs day schools. Other students might live at home and attend class at the local residential school. Classes were also being taught in Indian Affairs hospitals and in schools that operated only on a seasonal basis. Enrolment in the new category of "Non-Indian Schools" increased from 1,406 pupils in 1949 to 8,186 in 1959.[176]

The policy of moving students out of Indian Affairs schools and into public and church-run day schools was pursued aggressively. The federal government began negotiating agreements with local school authorities, usually school boards, to contribute to the construction of what were termed "joint schools." The federal government also paid a yearly tuition fee for each First Nations student attending a joint school.[177]

In 1908, the British Columbia government adopted legislation that allowed the provincial ministry of education and local school boards to enter into agreements with the federal government to educate First Nations children. In that year, Indian Affairs made its first financial contribution to the construction of a provincial school. Manitoba similarly gave school boards authority to enter into agreements with the federal government to educate First Nations students in 1964. Alberta legislation, which passed in 1936 but was made retroactive to 1932, allowed school boards to enter into similar agreements.[134]

By 1956, there were fifteen such agreements in place, covering fifty-two joint schools, of which twenty-one were in British Columbia. According to the Indian Affairs annual report, the

> joint schools are playing a significant part not only in the broadening educational programme for Indian students, but also in their social adjustment in communities in which some of them will likely seek employment. Without exception the joint schools have produced a mutual understanding and respect between the Indians and non-Indians.[135]

Table 32.2 shows the changes in where First Nations students were being educated during the 1950s. Over a ten-year period, the total number of students had increased by 6278. The number of students living in residential schools (and either attending school in the residential school or a nearby Indian Affairs school) was 9,874. This represents an increase of 600 students over the number of students previously in residential schools (a 6.5% increase). Students living at home and attending Indian Affairs day schools constituted the largest number of students at the beginning and end of the period. This group had increased by 5,282 (42%). The largest increase, though, was among those who were being integrated into public and separate schools (often Catholic schools). The number in this group jumped from 1,400 to 8,186: an increase of 662.3%.[136]

Table 10.2: First Nations students in 1956 and 1966, comparing enrolment figures for different types of schools

	1956	1966
Indian Day Schools	[illegible]	[illegible]
Residential school Students Attending Indian Day Schools		[illegible]
Provincial Schools		[illegible]
Hospital Schools		[illegible]
Residential Schools	[illegible]	
(a) Students Attending Residential Schools		[illegible]
(b) Day Pupils Attending Residential Schools		[illegible]
Non-Indian Schools	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]

*Included an as-yet-determined number of non-Indian pupils.
**Included an [illegible] pupils who lived at residential schools and attend non-Indian schools.
Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1956, 66.

There was a slight decrease in the number of residential schools established in the 1949–50 school year, and steep drops in the 1959–60 school year.[54] Indian Affairs began operating a small number of schools on a provincial basis in the 1951–52 school year. The initial enrolment was 1,073 students. Five years later, enrolment was down to 698, and by 1964–65, the last year that Indian Affairs reported on the program, there were seventy-nine students being taught in such schools. The 1951–52 school year was also the first year that Indian Affairs reported on the number of students being taught in Indian Affairs hospitals. In that year, there were 738 pupils. This number peaked the following year at 832. It declined annually until 1964–65, the last year on which Indian Affairs reported. By then, there were 373 students being taught in hospitals.[55]

In 1960, the number of students attending "non-Indian" schools (8,478) surpassed the number living in residential schools (8,415).[56] This was the second year in a row that the growth of First Nations enrolment in "non-Indian" schools had exceeded the growth in enrolment in Indian Affairs schools.[57] The overall policy goal was to restrict the education being given in Indian Affairs schools to the lower grades. As a result, it was expected that, during the course of their schooling, at least half of the students then in Indian Affairs schools would transfer to a "non-Indian" school.[58]

In 1963, a number of Indian Affairs schools in northern Alberta were transferred to the authority of the provincial Northlands School Division. By that year, Indian Affairs had entered into 332 separate agreements with authorities across the country for the education of First Nations children.[59] By 1965, the federal government had invested $15,561,000 in provincial schools to provide for 15,150 First Nations pupils.[60] Agreements had been reached with the Manitoba and British Columbia

Middleton, claimed that a girl who had been voluntarily enrolled in his school had been removed by her parents and enrolled in the Catholic school instead, after he had refused the mother's request to take her out for a visit. Middleton said the girl's father was a long-standing Anglican. When it was pointed out that the father had not signed the school application form, Middleton explained that he had signed it at the mother's request, "in the same manner that I have signed dozens and dozens in the past, owing to the confidence that has been developed between church and people through many years of service." He said this was legitimate, since in that family, the husband always carried out the wife's requests (he eventually called the wife "secretive and controlled").[110] Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey took a more negative view of the affair, saying that Middleton's practice was not "legal, orthodox, or legitimate." The agent was instructed to have new applications sent in for all students whose applications had been signed by the principal.[111] This conflict underscores an additional issue: the lack of control and scrutiny that Indian Affairs exercised over who was admitted to the schools.

That same year, the Manitoba inspector of Indian agencies, A. G. Hamilton, was obliged to try to resolve the conflict that arose when a man who had converted from Catholicism to Presbyterianism attempted to transfer his daughter from the Roman Catholic Pine Creek school to the Presbyterian school in Birtle, Manitoba. Hamilton noted at the time, "Unfortunately, there is a great rivalry on this reserve between the Presbyterian missionary and [the Roman Catholic] Father Cormier with the result that many of the Indians do not know from day to day which church they belong to."[112] Three years later, Hamilton was involved in adjudicating a dispute between the Portage la Prairie (United Church) and Sandy Bay (Roman Catholic) schools in Manitoba. John Daniels of the Long Plain Reserve said that he had been born and raised a Protestant and married his wife, a Catholic, in a Protestant ceremony. He said a Catholic priest "bothered him for years to turn Catholic," and he eventually agreed to be baptized. However, when he applied to have his son Donald educated, he gave the boy's religion as Protestant. Because he did not like the way his son was being treated at the Portage la Prairie residential school, he applied to have him sent to a Roman Catholic school. After changes in the leadership at the Portage school, he and his wife decided they wanted their son to remain there. Hamilton also had to look into a dispute over the children of Archie Meeches of Long Plain. Meeches told Hamilton that he had "no religion except for the Indian religion," but his wife had been raised as a Protestant. In the summer of 1913, at the urging of the local Catholic priest, she and her children were baptized and an application was made to send the children to a Catholic school. But, by November, Hamilton wrote, the parents "requested that these forms be forgotten and stated they would prefer to have the children back in the Portage School," where they would be closer to home.[113]

In 1945, D. S. Pitts, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, protested the enrolment of the son of a former student in the Roman Catholic school in Kenora. Pitts also wanted to draw attention to the "unusual activity of Father LaSalles of St. Mary's School [the Catholic school], in his efforts to persuade our people to leave us and join their (apparently) overcrowded school."[104] The following year, parents from the Islington Band in northern Ontario sought to send their children to the Presbyterian school in Kenora. In this case, the father had been baptized a Catholic, but had attended the Presbyterian school and never followed the Catholic faith. His wife was Catholic, but they had been married in the Anglican Church. Their children had been baptized as Catholics, but they wanted them to attend the Presbyterian school because "most of the Islington children were students there."[105]

Parental wishes were often overridden in this process. In 1946, Mary Bone, a student at the Sandy Bay residential school, died at the Dynegar Indian Hospital from tuberculosis. At the end of that year's summer vacation, her parents and relatives chose to transfer six children from the Catholic Sandy Bay school to the Presbyterian Birtle school. The principal at Sandy Bay protested, and the children were ordered to go back there. After two months of ongoing conflict, the children were returned to their reserve. In February 1947, the Indian agent visited the parents on the reserve. Although, he said, he believed they were all prepared to send their children to Sandy Bay, one of them "would rather send them to Birtle School, as it is much nearer to the Reserve, and therefore less expensive to get to in case the children get ill."[106]

In 1947, the parents of a girl who had attended the Roman Catholic residential school at Hobbema, Alberta, for seven years requested that she be transferred to the United Church school in Edmonton. The application was denied, even though the Edmonton school had already accepted the girl. In ruling on the case, R. F. Neary, the Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training, wrote that the general government policy was to have children educated in the faith of their father, even after his death. (Only in British Columbia were the views of a widowed mother the deciding factor.) When parents sought to have their children raised in a faith other than their own, the department would require an affidavit from the father, and would delay reaching a decision for several months. In this case of the girl at the Hobbema school, the decision to insist the student be returned to the Catholic school—against her parents' wishes—was based on the lengthy period of time she had already attended that school.[107]

The principal of the Pine Creek school implied that the Mounted Police were practising religious discrimination when they would not force two students to return to his school in the fall of 1949. The parents had refused to surrender these children to the principal at the end of the summer, so he had called the police for help. According to Principal Bretagne, the "said police found some elusive explanation for not going." The principal later discovered that the father had converted to a Protestant faith and

the children had been admitted to the Birtle school.[318] The department then ordered that the children be transferred back to Pine Creek.[319]

In his testimony to the Special Joint Committee investigating the *Indian Act*, R. A. Hoey had noted the difficulty that Indian Affairs officials experienced in administering the provision of the *Indian Act* that prevented Roman Catholic students from being educated at Protestant schools and Protestant students from being educated at Roman Catholic schools. He told the committee, "My personal opinion, and I hold this opinion strongly, is that when such disputes arise the religious status of a child should not be decided by departmental officials, as is now the case, but by an independent officer or officers appointed by the minister."[320] His request to be freed of this burden of religious arbitration was ignored.

In 1951, the *Indian Act* was amended to provide that "no child whose parent is a Protestant shall be assigned to a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices and no child whose parent is a Roman Catholic shall be assigned to a school conducted under Protestant auspices, except by written direction of the parent."[321]

The option of changing schools on the basis of a written statement was new. The Anglican Church's Henry Cook worried at the time that the addition of the phrase allowing for a written statement would "only add confusion when put into practice in the field." When he raised his concerns with Walter Harris, the minister responsible for Indian Affairs, he was assured that "where evidence showed that bribery or persuasion by a religious body had been used to influence the parents, the written request of the parent would be ignored and the Minister decide where the child would attend school." Harris also revealed that at a meeting with Indian leaders about the changes to the *Indian Act*, their only comment regarding education was that they "all favoured Government Day schools over Church operated Residential Schools."

Despite the minister's assurances, by 1952, Cook had concluded that the Roman Catholic principals were taking advantage of the amendment in order to accelerate a campaign to bring Anglican children into Catholic schools: "It is apparent that the Roman authorities feel that all that is required to allow Church of England pupils into their schools is a written statement to that effect from one or both of the parents." Cook also felt that government officials were consistently ruling in the Catholics' favour when they claimed that an Anglican parent wished their child to attend a Catholic school, but ruling against the Anglicans in similar situations.[322]

The number of conflicts over children increased in coming years. The Indian agent in Norway House reported in the fall of 1951 that an Oblate missionary had recruited fifteen students on the Island Lake Reserve, and had flown them to the Pine Creek school without first referring their admission to him for approval. He noted that the parents of at least five of the children were members of the United Church, and he had not seen any documentation indicating that the parents had approved the decision to send the children to a Roman Catholic school.[323] As a result, the school was instructed

to return the children.[324] After delaying for three weeks, the principal responded that the children had been baptized into the Catholic faith at their parents' request. The government eventually accepted the principal's proposal that the school be allowed to keep the students until June.[325]

In January 1952, Indian Affairs was investigating over fifty cases regarding Protestant children sent to Catholic schools and Catholic students sent to Protestant schools.[326] At the beginning of 1953, Indian Affairs Branch Director D. M. MacKay identified thirty cases where he felt "eligibility for admission to a residential school was doubtful on religious grounds."[327] That same year, considerable correspondence was generated as to whether one young boy, whose deceased father was Roman Catholic and whose mother was a member of the United Church, could be admitted into the Catholic McIntosh school in northwestern Ontario.[328]

The Canadian Catholic Council thought that Indian Affairs was biased against Catholics in making decisions regarding which school children would attend. In 1954, it claimed that the federal government's decisions were being made contrary to the principle of "providing Christian education for both the Catholic and Protestant Indian children of Canada." In particular, the council said it could not "approve the policy of sending Roman Catholic children to neutral schools. These children should be sent to Catholic Residential Schools or, if the number of pupils is sufficient, a separate Day School should be provided for them in accordance with Section 121 of the Indian Act." They buttressed their argument with a reference to the *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights* provision: "Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education to be given to their children."[329]

In other situations, religious officials were not as concerned about parental choice. During their testimony before the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, the Catholic witnesses had denied that parents who followed traditional Aboriginal spiritual practices had any such rights. When Sechelt, British Columbia, principal William Bernardo was dealing with a band council that was calling for his replacement, he remarked in frustration that the local First Nation people felt that they owned the school and therefore "should be allowed to run it, or a [sic] least to have a great deal to say in how it should be run." He added that there was "a growing feeling that they have a right to self-expression and self-government and must pracice [sic] that right. It looks as if self-gov. for them is going to mean dictatorship for us." The principal concluded, "I think my best course is to [be] very rough with these people even if it means another request for a transfer."[330]

In 1955, J. A. Davis, an Indian agent in southern Saskatchewan, was presented with eighteen applications for admission to the Roman Catholic school in Kamsack. According to departmental records, sixteen of the children were from United Church families and two from Anglican families.[331] On reviewing the applications, Davis noted that one of the witnesses to the applications seemed to have two different signatures,

and in one case, he thought the parent's signature was a forgery.[332] When challenged, the principal explained that when he had visited the reserve, he had had the parent sign a blank sheet of paper, since he had no application forms with him. On his own, he then "completed the forms at the school."[333]

The controversies continued into the 1960s. In the fall of 1960, Christie, British Columbia, school principal Father Allan Noonan wrote that there was so little room in his school that at least six Catholic children were attending public school. He added, "The Indian Department appear [sic] to enjoy seeing our Catholic Indians either in the Public School or not going to School at all. If we only had some good Catholics in the Department out here to stick up for us!" Father Noonan had also become embroiled in a conflict with the principal of the United Church school at Port Alberni. He had arranged to have two children brought to his school who had attended the United Church school in the past. Noonan had not yet received government permission to admit them, but claimed, "I'm keeping these children, whether I get approvals for them or not."[334]

Not all conflicts were between Catholics and Protestants. To keep attendance up, the United Church school in Edmonton began to take in a significant number of Anglican students. This led in 1958 to the appointment of an Anglican to the position of school chaplain. The assistant secretary of the United Church Board of Home Missions, E. E. Joblin, was alarmed by this development, particularly in light of the fact that the latest enrolment figures showed that Anglicans now outnumbered United Church students at the United Church school. Joblin was "most curious as to how this has come about," pointing out that the selection of students was in the hands of departmental officials.[335] It was later revealed that the Anglican official in question had not been made the school chaplain; he had simply been given, with the school principal's approval, the right to visit the Anglican students in the school.[336] In 1963, the inter-church bickering was still going on when the Anglican Church raised objections to Anglican students' being enrolled in the new Mennonite-run Poplar Hill, Ontario, school.[337]

All this denominational turf war was happening even as church-run residential schools in southern Canada were moving towards closure. Yet, in these relatively remote, more northern, areas, there were still expansion and religious jockeying for position. The expansion was short-lived; the closing of these schools soon followed the general pattern of shutting down the system.

Church defiance of government policy

Christie school principal Noonan's vow that he would keep children in the school with or without government approval underscores the difficulty the government had

in asserting its authority in the schools. Acts of defiance were more common than what might be expected. When the federal government sent a dentist to the residential schools in northern Manitoba, the principal of the Norway House school, Joseph Jones, refused to let him smoke as he worked in the school.[338] As a result, the dentist declined to provide service. This led the director of the Indian Affairs branch, H. McGill, to order that the dentist (a Dr. Church) be allowed to "proceed with his work without interference."[339] Jones, who thought that smoking was a fire hazard, said he would not let the dentist smoke in the school even if he were instructed to do so by the prime minister.[340] George Dorey, the head of the United Church Board of Home Missions, defended Jones, saying that McGill had exceeded his authority in instructing the principal to let the dentist provide service without interference.[341]

In 1946, R. A. Hoey complained that the churches were ignoring a 1934 policy that stated that the government would provide funding for improvements to church-owned schools only if the churches had sought approval prior to construction. There had been, he wrote, "several instances" in which the department had been asked to pay for the capital cost of church-owned school buildings, in addition to requested grants for building additions, repairs, and maintenance, and the purchase of equipment and furnishings. Often, these grant requests were made after the work had already been completed and without first submitting an estimate of costs to Indian Affairs for approval.[342] Inspections of the McIntosh, Ontario, school revealed in 1958 that the principal was making unauthorized improvements to the building. These were repairs that involved, at times, removing supports from load-bearing walls.[343]

In other examples, administrative staff of Roman Catholic schools disregarded government instructions regarding the way funds should be spent and recorded, even as the new controlled-cost system was being put in place. A federal government auditor, H. Oldring, reported with frustration in 1958 that the officials at the Roman Catholic school in Wabasca, Alberta, were listing employees who were, in fact, being paid by the government, and similarly reporting expenses that were being paid for by the government. According to Oldring, when the school bursar (financial administrator) was asked why he did not maintain proper salary records, he said, "They are just a lot of Government Red Tape."[344] The school's food and clothing budget had been exceeded, in part because it was being used to feed staff and patients at a nearby hospital. The school was also sending $600 a year to the Oblate Commission in Ottawa. Such payments were permitted, but they were to be limited to $4 a year per student, meaning that, based on the size of the school's enrolment, the school was permitted to forward only $396 to the Oblate Commission.[345] The school bursar had a number of justifications for his actions. In some cases, he had not received direction from Indian Affairs on how to implement the new funding system; other actions had, in his opinion, been approved by the auditor; and, in the case of the payment to the Oblates, he was acting on the instructions of his superiors.[346]

When investigating a Fort Frances, Ontario, fuel dealer in 1965 on suspicion of *Customs Act* violations, Ontario Provincial Police officers found evidence of what appeared to be kickbacks to the local residential school for the right to supply the school with fuel oil. (In one case, the supplier actually described the payment on a cheque stub as a "kick back.") School official Royal Carrière maintained that the money was used to purchase equipment for the school.[347] Carrière, who had taken over as principal of the school in 1961, was operating the school at a deficit.[348] Police investigations revealed that the fuel contract had not been granted to the lowest bidder.[349] Indian Affairs concluded that, over a three-year period, the supplier paid the school and the Oblate order $2,678.49 to be the sole supplier of fuel to the school. Rather than pressing charges of fraud against the individuals involved, Indian Affairs requested that the Oblates, who administered the school, return the money.[350] The Oblates issued a cheque and an apology, and the matter was dropped.[351]

Carrière left the Fort Frances school in 1965 to become the bursar of the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school. His approach to bookkeeping alarmed the federal government's auditor, who concluded that the accounts were not being properly kept and that funds were being improperly diverted. Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey worried that Indian Affairs would soon be "faced with an accumulation of problems which will be hard to resolve."[352]

The federal government had little success in its efforts to control the activities of Brandon, Manitoba, school principal Oliver Strapp. In the 1950s, Strapp (whose problems with discipline and runaways are discussed elsewhere in this report) successfully controlled and frustrated an Indian Affairs investigation into the operation of the school. The conflict had its immediate origins in a visit to the school in 1951 by Colonel Laval Fortier, the deputy minister responsible for Indian Affairs. There, he discovered that one boy was being "left in bed as a form of punishment." Strapp explained that the boy was a "mental case and that nothing could be done with him," but Fortier had his staff make further inquiries. The inspector of Indian schools in Manitoba, G. H. Marcoux, concluded that the boy had "no such medical record." He also noted that the school had experienced thirteen runaways in the 1950–51 school year.[353]

Marcoux was then asked to undertake a complete investigation into the school's operations. Strapp refused to let any of the staff speak to Marcoux or to the nurse who had accompanied him, unless he was present. Marcoux agreed to this extraordinary demand. As Marcoux noted, "This was not very satisfactory as each member of the staff seem to rely on Strapp for the answers." It was, he said, "a painful procedure." However, he was left with the impression that some of the staff resented the way they were treated during their off-duty hours. Marcoux threatened to end the investigation then and there if he could not speak to the students individually. As a compromise, he was allowed to speak to two students, selected by Strapp, on their own. According to his notes, Irene Eastman, aged twelve, told him that she did not like the school, that

the food was not good and in short supply, that she worked a half-day in the kitchen on a daily basis, that she liked her teacher, had little time to play, and did not wish to return in the following year. Seventeen-year-old Russell Smith told him he did not get enough food, had little time to play, did not have clothes warm enough for outside work, and that the supervisors were "sometimes rough with boys." Marcoux concluded that "drastic changes will have to be made in this school if we are to solve the runaway situation."[128]

By this point, Strapp felt persecuted. He complained to Philip Phelan, the superintendent of Indian training, that Indian Affairs had instituted numerous investigations of the school in recent years, each of which left the school "seething with discontent." As a result, he would permit no further investigations without the presence of United Church officials. As to complaints about lack of recreational activities at the school, he reminded Phelan that he had, on numerous occasions, drawn to the government's attention the lack of recreational space and equipment at the school. The broader problem lay in the fact that children were sent to the school against their parents' wishes and, at the direction of the department, were kept in the school over the summer. This "gives the child a feeling of resentment against the school which becomes localized in their attitude toward the individual staff members in the school."[129] In this example, the principal of a school that was almost completely funded by the federal government was allowed to dictate the terms under which his school was investigated.

By June of 1953, Phelan was corresponding with the United Church about the possibility of having Strapp replaced.[130] In the fall of that year, Marcoux reported that parents from the Fisher River Agency in Manitoba were unwilling to send their children to the Brandon school because they believed "the food is not good, there is no time for play, it is all work and the clothing is no good." Marcoux added that, in his opinion, the parents were correct. He felt Strapp's involvement in outside activities (which were not described), lack of direct contact with daily activities of the school, and inability to keep a permanent staff reflected an attitude that the students were "not worth it."[131]

Despite the government's increasing displeasure with Strapp, it was not until 1955 that the United Church agreed to move Strapp out of the school. However, he was to continue as a residential school principal. Originally, the church wished to transfer him to the Morley, Alberta, school, which was in a state of crisis.[132] In the end, Strapp was transferred to the Edmonton school. Although Indian Affairs had some concerns over the qualifications of Strapp's successor at Brandon (former Morley principal G. R. Inglis), it made no formal objection to Strapp's appointment to the Edmonton school.[133]

Once in Edmonton, Strapp became immersed in conflicts with staff, students, and Indian Affairs. In 1956, R. F. Davey, the superintendent of education for Indian Affairs, reported that there was a growing body of complaints about Strapp, who was seen to be "concerned first with such matters as the operation of the farm, the condition of the

Principal's residence, the cost of operation of the school, etc., rather than placing first in his thoughts the welfare and feelings of the pupils." As an example, R. F. Battle, the regional supervisor of Indian agencies in Alberta, protested to Strapp's decision to make that all the boys wear felt coveralls. The teenagers in particular objected to the clothing and were not swayed by the fact that they were cheaper than trousers.[xxv]

Strapp had his supporters. United Church Board of Home Missions official M. C. Macdonald defended Strapp, saying that "there is no one of the principals who writes this office with more concern about the welfare of the school than Mr. Strapp." Macdonald did recognize that Strapp's abrupt manner could convey "a wrong impression."[xxvi]

The struggle of high school integration

It was over the provision of high school education that the conflict between the Catholic orders and the federal government was most apparent. In the opinion of federal government officials, high school education, which included vocational training, could be offered in the most economically efficient manner in provincial schools. These schools, with their larger student base, could afford to invest in a wide range of equipment, offer a broader assortment of courses, and recruit specialist teachers. Educating Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students together was also seen as being socially beneficial. In short, Indian Affairs officials believed that their approach was superior in economic, social, and educational terms. Conversely, it also condemned to non of their goals: limiting the federal involvement in First Nations education to paying for it, and fostering the assimilation of Aboriginal people. Catholic church leaders argued that residential schooling was required because, in too many cases, Aboriginal home life was too unsettled to provide a setting for students to do homework. The Catholics argued that residential schooling was preferable for three reasons: 1) teachers at public schools were not prepared to deal with Aboriginal students; 2) students at public schools often expressed racist attitudes towards Aboriginal students; and 3) Aboriginal students felt acute embarrassment over their impoverished conditions, particularly in terms of the quality of the clothing they wore and the food they ate. As a result of these factors, the students dropped out in high numbers.[xxvii] (These criticisms were also voiced by Protestant church leaders generally, however, they did not use them as a rationale for the provision of high school at Protestant residential schools.) These Roman Catholic arguments condemned to their own goals of maintaining control of the education of First Nations children with Catholic parents.

In 1961, Roman Catholic Archbishop W. M. Duke of Vancouver sought federal government support for a grade extension to add junior high to the Mission, British Columbia, school. Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey was not receptive to the proposal.

saying the federal government lacked both the money and the material for such an expansion. He also said that the government was planning to make residential school education "more practical and vocational in character." This was in part because the "success achieved by Indians who have taken what are usually seen as straight academic courses has been on the whole rather disappointing. Those who have remained in the reserves have remained, not to give leadership, but to become agitators in a very radical and destructive sense."[111] The Catholic push for high school training in 1960 was a new development. As recently as 1956, G. Forbes, the principal of the Catholic Christie school in British Columbia, wrote that he saw nothing wrong with the limited number of residential students in the upper grades. Some of the Protestant schools, he said, tried to make a name for themselves by counting their day-boarding students in those grades. But the students came to see themselves as "superior to their Indian relatives and were accepted neither by the Indians nor the Whites." In Forbes's mind, allowing these grades would "lead not to the summery but to the heather."[112]

The reality was that in the early 1960s, Indian Affairs had neither the commitment nor the capacity to provide First Nations students with high school education. With the residential school building program suspended indefinitely due to war conditions, and the residential school population increasing by approximately 300 students a year, R. A. Hoey wrote in 1960 that Indian Affairs' "first duty [was] to pupils ranging between 7 and 16." If additional funds were made available, it might be possible to extend the schooling of some of the "brighter pupils at residential schools," he wrote.[113] As the number of students of high school age increased, Indian Affairs experienced, particularly after 1960, that duty would be enhanced in public schools.

The Roman Catholics took the initiative in 1946, when the new principal of the Spanish, Ontario, school was able to convince Indian Affairs to provide an extra $625 per student, which allowed for the hiring of an extra teacher.[114] The high school program started in 1946 with eight boys and eleven girls. The following year it had twenty-seven boys and twenty-nine girls. When the school closed in 1958, seventy-seven students had graduated.[115] The effectiveness of the high school program at the Spanish school was limited by the lack of qualified teachers. By 1953, one principal concluded:

> The scholastic standing of the boys is terrible and cannot but lower our reputation as good teachers. Many of the boys who "graduated" last June would more than likely not have passed an honest examination in grade eight or nine. When these "graduates" try to go on for further studies, as some of them do, our losses are noted when they are discovered to be so poor, and success for our scholastic standards is lessened.[116]

In 1958, the school's dean of studies described the teaching situation at the school as "pitiful."[117]

border down along religious lines. At that point, Brown ended discussions, stating that it was not proper to discuss religious matters at a council meeting.[111]

Teachers, including Aboriginal teachers, also supported the Catholic position. In a 1963 article for the Roman Catholic publication *The Indian Record*, Clive Linklater, the president of the Alberta Indian Teachers' Association (and a teacher at the Blue Quills school), wrote that First Nations people viewed integration as "the abolition of all Indian schools, the doing away of all Indian Reserves, the extinguishing of Indian culture, and the abrogation of Treaties and Treaty rights." He pointed out that for many Indians, schools on reserves were a Treaty right. Integration too often involved closing reserve schools and transferring students to public schools. "If it is the mixing of Indian and White children in the classrooms that is so vitally important and necessary, the Indians wonder why the movement is all one way—away from the Reserves." Instead of integration, which Linklater said implied a segregation that did not exist, he proposed a policy of "inter-socialism," which would promote "the intermingling and close association of Indian and White people."[112] Linklater was correct: Indian Affairs never sought to integrate non-Aboriginal children into Indian Affairs schools. This was a matter of frustration for the Saskatchewan government, which had unsuccessfully sought the entry of Métis and white children to Indian Affairs schools in northern Saskatchewan.[113]

Integration also came under attack from the non-Aboriginal community. In 1965, residents of Inuvik, Alberta, complained of the threat that integration posed to the white, French-speaking community. One letter spoke of the impact of Métis children on the local school: "The discipline in the school was made more difficult to maintain, juvenile delinquency increased with breaking and entering, theft, broken windows, destruction of personal and Public property." In the author's opinion, integrating 150 First Nations students with fifty-five Métis and forty-five white children was "not integration—this is racial discrimination against the white children." In the letter writer's opinion, real integration required a one-to-one ratio of Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal students.[114]

In the mid-1960s, Indian Affairs decided to phase out the high school program at the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school. In justifying the decision, the government pointed to a study it had carried out of the residential high school program. Of the forty-eight students who entered Grade Nine in 1958, twenty-three continued on to Grade Twelve; of the sixty-eight who entered Grade Nine in 1960, only thirteen entered Grade Twelve, a dropout rate of 81%. Of the 102 students who entered Grade Twelve over the six-year period, 22 graduated. The study found similar patterns at four Roman Catholic high schools in Alberta. Joussard had fourteen students enter Grade Nine in September 1960, but only four enter Grade Twelve in September 1963. The Hobbema school had twenty-seven enrol in Grade Nine in September 1960, but only four enrol in Grade Twelve in September 1963. At the Cardston school, the numbers

were twenty-nine (1960) and eleven (1963), respectively; and at Cluny, they were twenty-five (1960) and eleven (1963), respectively. The conclusion was that "the residential school is ill-equipped to provide Indian students with the academic skills they require at the high school level."[104]

Both in Saskatchewan and Alberta, the Catholics organized strong public campaigns to defend these schools. Qu'Appelle principal Leonard Charron urged students and their parents to lobby the government to reverse its decision, promising that it would lead to the government's offering them "a wider choice of courses—commercial, technical, as well as the present academic course."[105] Indian Affairs official J. G. McGilp noted that in any other school system, Charron would have been asked to resign for so publicly opposing the policy of the organization that was paying him. Since Charron could not be fired, McGilp wondered if it would be possible to simply put him in charge of the residence.[106]

The Indian Affairs position, as expressed by R. F. Davey, was that, "as is the case with students elsewhere," First Nations students who lacked "the motivation for the academic course might better be guided into vocational courses." And, since the federal government was providing funding to provincial governments to make such training available to First Nations students, Davey said, Indian Affairs would "find it difficult to recommend the duplication of these services in residential schools." Even if it were possible, it was not desirable, since "in segregated classes the Indian student is denied the social experience which can be derived from his daily contact with non-Indian students."[107]

The following school year, eleven students were living in the Qu'Appelle residential school but attending Grade Twelve at the Fort Qu'Appelle Composite High School—approximately seven kilometres away from the residential school.[108]

In 1966 in Alberta, the Catholic Indian League opposed an Indian Affairs decision to purchase places for First Nations students in the newly constructed Strathmore high school. Parents said they wished to see their children educated at the Cluny residential school, which, they noted, had room for an additional thirty students. Cluny principal Adrian Charron gave the media a list of school problems, which suggested that Indian Affairs had essentially abandoned the school.[109] Two years later, in September 1968, E. I. Dosdall of Indian Affairs informed Charron that the federal government had approved the admission of only twenty-seven of the sixty-eight student residents at the school. To save further costs, Dosdall recommended that Charron send the remaining children home.[110] The department was contemplating closing the residence that term, since most of the twenty-seven students could be placed either with foster families on the reserve or at the Catholic residential school at Cardston. According to one Indian Affairs official, the local band council had "expressed no real disagreement with our proposed plan." There was, however, "latent parental hostility" that could end up in the media if the school was closed too quickly.[111] That hostility

manifested itself at a parents' meeting on December 1, 1968. Parents said that they did not feel they had been given any choice in determining which schools their children would attend, since it was Indian Affairs that informed them which schools accepted Indian children. The parents said that a residential school was needed because of the poor road conditions, poor housing, and absence of employment on the reserve. "Most work available to Indians is off reserve and it is necessary to place their children in residence if they are to go and seek good, well paying jobs." One parent spoke of how his daughter refused to return to public school because she had been called a "squaw." According to the parent, "Nothing has been done to correct the white children's behavior towards the Indian children."[903] Despite these concerns, the Cluny school was closed at the end of 1968.[904]

A circular from the Oblate House in Vancouver made it clear how embattled the Catholics felt during this period. Oblates throughout British Columbia were informed that "Biafra and Vietnam are not the only places where war is being waged. Father Al Noonan, Gerry Kelly and Tom Lobsinger are engaged in a battle to defend the Indian people's right to the mode and manner of their children's education, especially with regard to the Hostel or Students' Residence."[905] Of particular concern to the Oblates in British Columbia was the government's decision to reduce the number of students being sent to residences.[906] The Kamloops residence, for example, could accommodate 398 students, but only 238 children had been approved for admission by the federal government. The Oblates organized a number of meetings with First Nations chiefs at which they pointed to the reduction in the number of children sent to the Kamloops, Williams Lake, and Cranbrook residences. At the meetings, the chiefs expressed concern that they were not being consulted over which students were being sent to the residences, saying that they were the people best placed to determine which children were being neglected.[907] After one meeting, the Kamloops Indian residence director, Allan Noonan, wrote to the Oblate publicity director, saying, "The Indians sure back these schools 100% in this area. If we can get the Indians to fight for what they feel is right, maybe the Department will listen to them."[908]

The issues that had been raised in opposition to high school integration would not go away. But, after 1969, when the federal government took over responsibility for the administration of the residences, the challenge would no longer come from the churches, but from the Aboriginal political organizations.

The federal takeover of 1969

The funding formula that the federal government adopted in 1957 allowed it to exert greater control over how government funds were spent at residential schools. Under the new system, the government established the amounts that were to be spent

on salaries at government-owned schools, and negotiated contracts that also gave it considerable control over the operation of the schools. In the process, the government was unintentionally laying the groundwork for a Canadian labour board decision that would declare that virtually all school employees were, in essence, government employees. This ruling led to a restructuring of the government–church relationship in 1969.

The labour board's decision was triggered by a 1965 Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) organizing drive at a number of residential schools.[409] Initially, the campaign, which focused on the non-teaching staff members, prompted the federal government to examine the working conditions at the schools. (Teaching staff had been government employees since the government took over the direct payment of their salaries in 1954.) The study revealed the following in the case of the non-clerical domestic staff:

- There were usually no written contracts governing the hiring of employees by the religious organizations that administered the schools.
- Most employees were hired for ten months of the year.
- There were no standard daily hours of work.
- There were paid vacations, transportation to remote locations, pension plans, reduced accommodation rates, payment of health premiums and unemployment insurance benefits, and special allowances for employees in remote locations.
- The pay and benefits were lower than those provided by the federal government for people it employed in other sections of the civil service who were performing similar duties. It was estimated that if the school employees were to be compensated at rates similar to government employees, costs would rise by $750,000.[410]

In its public statements, the federal government took the position that these "domestic employees" at the schools were employed by the churches.[411] However, a confidential government legal opinion had concluded that because the contracts between the churches and the government gave the government considerable powers over how the schools were to be operated, then the churches were essentially "agents of the Crown." According to the legal opinion, this meant that the domestic staff members at the schools were Crown employees.[412]

Despite having this advice, the government continued to maintain that domestic staff members were church employees. In February 1966, a question was asked in Parliament as to whether the *Canada Labour Code* applied to the residential schools and residences, and whether wages were paid that were less than the federal minimum of $1.25 an hour. Arthur Laing, the minister responsible for Indian Affairs, said that the application of the provisions of the labour code to school employees was being considered. He said that all staff members, other than teachers, were church

employees. However, he said that the principals had been informed that the minimum wage at the schools was $1.25 an hour.[413]

The CUPE organizing campaign operated on the premise that the individual schools were the employers. In such a case, the worker and the employer were subject to the provisions of the federal *Industrial Disputes Investigation Act* (IDIA)—an Act that did not apply to direct government employees (Crown employees).[414] It was under the provisions of this Act that the union applied for the right to represent employees at the Fort Frances, Ontario, school. In the fall of 1966, the Canada Labour Relations Board rejected the CUPE application. The board ruled that the school staff members were effectively Crown employees and, as such, were not subject to the provisions of the IDIA.[415] The labour board's decision did not mean the staff members could not be unionized: it just delayed the prospect. In 1968, the Public Service Alliance of Canada claimed the right to represent the staff under the provisions of the newly adopted federal *Public Service Staff Relations Act*.[416]

The transfer of responsibility for employees from the churches to the federal government would amount to a transfer of administration of the schools as well.[417] It would also void the existing contracts between the churches and the government.[418] It would take three years of negotiations before the implications of the labour board decision were fully resolved.

The government and the churches were left with two options.

1) Return to the per capita grant system. This system, which gave the churches greater flexibility as to how the grant was spent, would allow the churches to argue that the school staff members were employed by the churches, not by the government.

2) Accept the labour ruling that the school staff members, including the principals, worked for the federal government. This would amount to an acceptance of a federal government takeover of the schools.

When government and church officials met to consider these options, United Church officials opposed the first option, since it would "tend to surrender all the ground gained in the past nine years, in terms of maintaining standards of child care and control of expenditures." According to a United Church document, "the Protestant representatives at least were unwilling to consider seriously a return to the former system."[419]

It was generally recognized that the second option would lead to a significant improvement in the pay, working conditions, and benefits of the school employees. Church representatives feared that without the power to hire and fire employees, they would lose control of the schools. They also feared that "the Christian atmosphere of the residences might suffer."[420] Both the United and Anglican churches indicated that they were considering withdrawing from residential schooling.[421] Although they

did not do so immediately, their involvement declined rapidly after 1969. The Roman Catholic Church, however, remained firmly committed to residential schooling. Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey concluded that while the "prospect of adding 1400 more staff to the establishment is frightening," it would be easier to close the schools in the future if the staff members were government employees.[422]

Assistant Deputy Minister R. F. Battle noted that bringing the school principals into the public service would be a complicated matter, since many of them were members of religious orders. He thought it would be possible to exempt their hiring from federal regulations. Once hired, the principals would continue to take direction from the church on all matters of spiritual philosophy, but "in all other matters relating to the operation of the school, the principals would take direction from the Department." This, from Battle's perspective, was a helpful development, since "at the present time, some principals feel under no obligation to support government policy."[423]

Eventually, agreements were reached with the churches that provided for the transfer of staff to the civil service while allowing the churches to continue to appoint the residence administrator. This, however, required an exemption from the Public Service Commission—an exemption that the commission was originally unwilling to provide. While the government favoured the takeover, it recognized that it could not immediately staff and operate the more than fifty institutions that were affected by the decision. In the short term, it wanted the church officials to stay on as administrators.[424] The Public Service Commission eventually agreed to exempt approximately 200 administrators and child-care supervisors from all provisions of the *Public Service Employment Act* (PSEA) for a two-year period.[425] It was recognized that the churches might choose to end their involvement with the residences, but Deputy Minister J. A. MacDonald believed that such a move "would not cause the serious administrative problem that would occur if the churches were to pull out now."[426] Under the arrangement, the residence administrators remained church employees.[427] They would have the authority to nominate the child-care workers, who would have to be approved by the department. All other staff members were to be appointed according to the PSEA.[428] By this time, it was estimated that the takeover costs would be in the range of $2 million.[429]

The question of whether school staff members were government employees came to a head at the same time that Indian Affairs was contemplating the separation of administrative responsibility for residences from responsibility for classrooms. By the late 1960s, there were at least four different types of residential schools in southern Canada.

1) Traditional residential schools. These provided boarding facilities and classroom instruction for all the students enrolled in the school.

2) Hostels. These provided boarding facilities for students who attended class in a provincial school. They had no classrooms.

3) Combined residential and day schools. These were residential schools that also provided classroom instruction for students who did not live in the residence, but attended class as day students.

4) Combined hostel, residential school, and day schools. These institutions had three different categories of student: a) those who lived in the residence and attended classes at a provincial school; b) those who did not live in the residence, but attended class as day students; and c) those who both lived in the residence and attended class in the school.

In addition to the development of these different categories, there were several significant trends. In some cases, residential schools were being transformed into residences as their classrooms were being closed; in other cases, residential schools were reducing the number of students in residence and increasing the number of day students they taught in their classes. By 1968, there were twelve hostels (in southern Canada), and Indian Affairs had plans to eliminate classrooms from fifteen residential schools. In light of these trends, R. F. Battle proposed that all residential schools be separated into two, distinct, administrative units: day schools and residences. The former school principal would become the administrator of the residence, and the school would be administered essentially as a federal day school with a trained educator (usually the former senior teacher) as the principal.[630] The change was introduced in September 1968. Initially, it applied only in cases where the residences and the classrooms were in separate buildings.[631] As of August of that year, residential schools described themselves as "student residences," rather than "residential schools."[632]

The transfer of the schools and residences from the churches to the federal government involved 8,000 students, 56 residences, and 1,600 employees, and went into effect in April 1969.[633] Even as the transfer was being carried out, the government continued to close schools (by then, called "residences"). At the end of the 1968–69 school year, the government closed three Anglican schools (Cardston, Alberta; Old Sun, Alberta; Carcross, Yukon), two Catholic schools (McIntosh, Ontario; Kamsack, Saskatchewan), and one United Church school (Morley, Alberta).[634] According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1968–69, the department was responsible for sixty residences. Two years later, the number was down to forty-five.[635]

Members of religious orders did not readily accept that their residences were under new administration. A 1970 report on the Assumption residence at Hay Lakes, Alberta, commented that the seven Sisters of Providence who worked at the residence constituted "an organization within the official organization." They were described as a "powerful, cohesive group which is almost independent of the other employees. According to their religious vows, the Sisters are under the direction of the Sister Superior." Under

the government's job classifications, the sister superior was the school matron. As such, she was not the supervisor of the school's child-care workers. However, the two sisters who were classified as child-care workers did view her as their superior.

Other members of the order also did not appear to feel bound by Indian Affairs regulations. The seamstress, another member of the Sisters of Providence, was reported by instructors at a child-care workshop to "resort to methods of discipline which cannot be regarded as most beneficial to the children—such as slapping a child who misplaced a pair of mitts, or pulling up by the hair and publicly shaming a child who soiled himself inadvertently."[56]

The government plans to wind up residential schooling in Canada would soon hit a new and unexpected roadblock: opposition from Aboriginal parents and Aboriginal organizations. The intensification of the government's integration policy took effect just three months before the release of the federal White Paper. This set the stage for a controversy that placed Aboriginal control of Aboriginal education squarely on the political agenda.

Confrontation at Blue Quills

On July 14, 1970, a group of twenty-five First Nations people began a sit-in at the Blue Quills school near the Saddle Lake Reserve in Alberta. They were protesting a plan to turn the school into a residence and send the students to a public school almost five kilometres away in St. Paul, Alberta. Fearing their children would face racial discrimination in St. Paul, parents wished to see the school transferred to a private society that would operate it both as a school and a residence. The federal government had been open to such a transfer if the First Nations organization was structured as a provincial school division. The First Nations rejected this, saying that a transfer of First Nations education to the provincial authority was a violation of Treaty rights.

The Blue Quills conflict was the result of long-standing local dissatisfaction with the administration of the school, and a broader First Nations dissatisfaction with the policy of integration. It was felt that First Nations students had not benefited from the policy. Most reserve homes were small and crowded, leaving students with little space or privacy to study at home. Since the school buses left the school at the time students were dismissed from class, there was little opportunity for students to stay and study in the school. Many parents could not afford to properly dress their children, particularly in winter. As a result, during cold weather, they kept their children home. Aboriginal children were also embarrassed by the poor quality of their clothing. Many felt that the reception that they received from the non-Aboriginal students and staff of these integrated schools was hostile and even racist in nature.[57]

The dissatisfaction was intensified by the heightened political activity that had been sparked by the White Paper of 1969 and the federal government takeover of the residences in that year. The sit-in at Blue Quills led to an outcome that neither the federal government nor the churches had been prepared for: the takeover of a residential school by First Nations people. This set the direction for a trend that would characterize and extend the final years of the residential school system.

In 1966, Indian Affairs had alienated the parents of Blue Quills students, and school administrators, when it ruled that the residence could take in only 112 students in the 1966–67 school year. The decision was intended to reduce crowding at the school.[142] However, it was announced after the school had already accepted 168 students for the residence. The reduction, which had been made without any consultation with parents, was protested by members of the Saddle Lake Agency, who signed a petition saying the school could hold 176 students.[143] In the end, 157 students were admitted to the residence.[144]

By the end of 1966, Indian Affairs had decided to turn Blue Quills into a "hostel for senior students." Over a five-year period, the teaching staff was to be reduced from seven to zero. Indian Affairs official Roy L. Fitzpatrick advised the department to move slowly and undertake ongoing consultation if it wished to avoid a confrontation.[145] In 1967, Indian Affairs entered into discussions with the board of St. Paul Regional High School to ensure that there would be space for 160 First Nations students in the regional composite high school being planned for St. Paul.[146]

There was also growing concern over the high rate at which First Nations students from the region were dropping out of school. In 1965, there were only fourteen students from the Saddle Lake Reserve in Grade Nine. In a 1967 Alberta government report on Saddle Lake, Morgan Newman observed:

> The Indian parents and students claim that the administration is the major cause for children leaving school before completing Grade 12. They claim that the priest in charge of Marquette [sic] is much too strict, the children have little opportunity to mingle with the opposite sex and are prohibited from participating in sports together in the afternoons. In addition, they object to the priest's more permissive attitude to some of the girls and the perceived reasons for this. Some of these girls have been permitted to visit their parents more than the one weekend per month that is the rule of the school, and some have received gifts of extra money and clothing from the priest. The two female interviewers [who were carrying out research for the study on which Newman's report was based] spoke to five of the teenage girls who have left school and they all stated that advances made to them by the priest had been the main reason for their leaving. Subsequent inquiries made by researchers received sufficient corroboration from the Indian Affairs Branch for the statements to be included as considerations in this report. It has also been learned that the priest in question has since been transferred to a reserve in Saskatchewan. Although the people

> were in favor of the transfer, they felt that this type of action was only a short-run measure because the system itself remained unchanged.[47]

The Saddle Lake Local of the Catholic Indian League petitioned in 1968 to have Blue Quills principal O. P. Lyonnais replaced. According to the local, Lyonnais had "been there too long, he looks very tired and sick, and it looks like this position, after three years, is too heavy for his health."[48] Later that year, it was announced that Lyonnais was to be transferred to the position of principal of the Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, school. His replacement was Onion Lake principal Mr. McHugh.[49] It appears this plan was abandoned and Principal Lyonnais was instead replaced by S. B. Gaggnon.[50]

In the mid-1960s, Indian Affairs had begun establishing school committees on reserves to "exercise control over certain aspects of school affairs and the organization of school hours, and to stimulate an interest in school work amongst parents." The Indian Affairs annual report for 1966–67 stated, "The minutes of the meetings of these newly formed committees indicate a mature interest in education and a desire on the part of the members to create in parents a greater appreciation of the educational opportunities available for their children."[51] Frequent agenda items for the Saddle Lake School Committee (such then-and-here sports equipment, the quality of bus service, and lunch supplies.[52] But, by the beginning of 1969, the committee was discussing dropout rates, apprenticeships, and truancy.[53] At the September 9, 1969, meeting, committee members spoke of their concerns about the lack of qualifications of some of the staff at the Blue Quills school. It was decided to hold a special committee meeting later in the month with band council members to discuss problems at the school with school officials.[54]

At that meeting, the discussion focused on residence issues, as opposed to teaching staff. Committee members wanted to know why more Aboriginal people were not employed at the school, why so many young people were employed as supervisors, and what could be done to assist students who left the community to study at urban centres. It was reported that Aboriginal people held only four out of thirty service and maintenance jobs at the school. When one committee member asked if students would be more willing to co-operate with Aboriginal supervisors, Principal Gaggnon said that one Aboriginal supervisor had feared "he couldn't discipline the children as it would be resented by the parents." Stanley Ayokwom told the meeting that when he had been a study supervisor, "at first the children thought they could do as they pleased but after several evenings, he spoke to them in their own language and pointed out to them that the time was for their benefit and they would suffer if they did not make good use of their opportunity." After that, he said, he had no further discipline troubles.[55]

It appears that the parents had yet to be informed of the 1969 decision to close the school. In October 1969, a three-day meeting of representatives of all the school committees in the Saddle Lake/Athabasca District was held in St. Paul, Alberta. One of the committee members spoke of how there was a "story going the rounds that the

The region's only effective counsel immediately, Richard Hooper, who had been working on a system of Indian residential schools since the early 1950s, was appointed school administrator. An Indian Affairs official who attended a meeting between the region and staff observed that it had been "very smoothly handled," with the word for co-operation being the key to the approach that the committee wished to take.[20] On February 2, 1971, authority for the school residence was officially transferred to the region.[21]

The 1971–72 school year commenced with an historic ribbon-cutting ceremony as the region took over full operation of the school as well as the residence. Council chairperson Stanley Rodgers told the students, parents, and officials present that this was "the first time in the history of our region that Indians are officially opening their own school, to be administered by their own people." Lloyd Cardinal, an Elder from Saddle Lake, gave a blessing in Cree, and Harold Jackson, the chief of the Saddle Lake Reserve, cut the ribbon. Eugene Steinhauer, the executive director of the Alberta Native Communications Society, said, "I was a student in this school thirty years ago, at which time we were not allowed to speak our native tongue. I shall now speak to you in Cree, and later in a foreign language." Alice Makokis said, "In the past, when the children boarded school buses at the end of the summer holidays, there would be tears and sad faces." But, she said, "Today I was very happy to see there were no tears or sad faces."[22]

Indian control of Indian education

In the wake of the Blue Quills victory, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) convened an education working group that in late 1972 released a major position paper entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education*. The paper asserted the Aboriginal right to

> direct the education of our children, based on two education principles recognized in Canadian society: Parental Responsibility and Local Control of Education. Indian parents seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set by the treaties and the Indian Act. While we assert that only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living, we also strongly maintain that it is the financial responsibility of the Federal Government to provide education of all types and all levels to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves. It will be essential to the realization of this objective that representatives of the Indian people, in close cooperation with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, establish the needs and priorities of local communities in relation to the funds which may be available through government sources.[23]

This paper became a foundational document for Aboriginal education policy in the coming years. In February 1973, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien responded to the new paper, saying that he agreed

> completely with the paper's basic position of Indian parental responsibility and local control in education in partnership with the Federal Government. With the new authorities for transferring control of education to Band Councils, officials of my Department are ready to work out procedures for effective transfer including Band training if required.[xxv]

The authorities Chrétien was referring to had been provided for by the Treasury Board in its approval of a submission to permit the federal government to enter into agreements with band councils to manage "in-school education programs including attendance and social counselling services."[xxvi] These included "employment of teachers, educational assistance programs, educational allowances, seasonal transportation, student residences, and all other services normally considered to be part of the in-school program."[xxvii]

This was an important victory—amounting to a complete repudiation of the White Paper position. It came at a time, however, when the majority of First Nations children were already attending provincial, private, or territorial schools. According to the 1973–74 Indian Affairs annual report, there were 32,563 First Nations students in Indian Affairs schools and 42,022 in provincial schools.[xxviii] By that time, Indian Affairs had ceased to report the number of students living in residences. However, in 1970–71, the number of students in residence was 6,000. An additional 6,000 students were living in private boarding homes and group homes during the school year, and "the majority of these students are provided with room and board, and clothing and educational allowances."[xxix] Residential schooling from 1970 onward constituted a small and declining element in First Nations education. Despite this, in certain regions, particularly Saskatchewan, the anti-exile played a significant role in the campaign that First Nations people waged to gain control over education. Federal government attempts to close the schools were frustrated by First Nations organizations and people who sought to keep the schools open—under conditions of Aboriginal control.

There are several reasons why Aboriginal organizations supported the continued existence of residential institutions that many had long opposed in the past. There was no single Aboriginal position on residential schooling. As the review of the 1986 to 1988 Special Joint Committee testimony indicated, a significant number of the Aboriginal witnesses supported the continued existence of residential schools, particularly if they were located on reserves (allowing for regular contact between parents and children). The level of support is increased when the number includes those who opposed residential schooling in general, but recognized that it had a role to play in the housing and education of orphans and children in care.

The debates over the effectiveness of the federal government's integration policy had highlighted both the direct and institutional racism that students were subjected to in public schools. The high levels of poverty and poor housing conditions on many reserves also created problems that made it difficult for many parents to support their children financially and provide them an environment in which they could study. Residential schools in such a situation became part of a family-survival strategy. There was also a legitimate concern that the federal government would close residential schools without ensuring that there were proper, adequately funded, community supports and community schools in place. There was an expectation that Aboriginal control would bring an end to many of the long-resented social and educational policies associated with residential schooling. Instead of having institutions dedicated to eradicating Aboriginal culture, Aboriginal communities wanted the new focus to be on protecting and strengthening their cultures.

The conflict at Blue Quills was only one of a number of campaigns that First Nations organized in an effort to take control of residential schools slated for closure. Not all were successful. By the end of the 1960s, for example, most of the students at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, came from either northern Québec or northwestern Ontario. At the beginning of 1970, only twenty-five of the ninety-six students in the school came from southern Ontario, the region the school was originally intended to serve. With the planned opening of more reserve schools in Québec and northwestern Ontario in the fall of 1970, the Mohawk Institute enrolment was expected to drop to twenty-five. As a result, Indian Affairs decided to close the school in June 1970. Such closures often saw a portion of the enrolment shifted from residential schools to the authority of provincial child-welfare agencies. Indian Affairs official Donald Cassie explained that students from southern Ontario would be cared for "through local child welfare agencies or provided with boarding arrangements."[465] However, in March 1970, the Six Nations Council announced that it had not been properly consulted over the closure of the school. The council argued that "the Institute could still serve a very useful purpose. Many of the successful members of Six Nations passed through the Institute." In the future, the residence could serve "the orphaned and underprivileged children from the Six Nations."[466]

The council proposed that sixty-four children from the Six Nations who were already being cared for through provincial child-welfare agencies be transferred to the Mohawk Institute to bring its enrolment back to 101 students. The federal government opposed such a move, not because it would see so many students institutionalized, but because, in the words of the director of the education branch, George Cromb, it "would be reversing the Department's policy of moving from federally operated services to provincially operated services for Indian residents."[467] The Mohawk Institute—which dated back to the 1830s—was closed on June 30, 1970, and the building was transferred to the Six Nations.[468]

Events followed a different trajectory in Saskatchewan from that in Ontario. In February 1970, David Ahenakew, chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, protested the proposed closing of the Onion Lake and Grayson residences. He said the decisions were being made with no consideration for the "feeling of the Indian people who are directly or indirectly affected by the paternalistic and inhuman move." The closure of these institutions, he wrote, "is not the wish of the Indian people affected."[489] In response, D. K. F. Wattie, the head of Indian Affairs' Guidance Services Division, visited the reserves that would be affected by the closing of the Marieval residence (formerly the Cowessess school at Grayson). In his report, he wrote, "The Indian people I spoke to were unanimous in their belief that there is a continuing need for the Marieval residence to accommodate children with poor home conditions." The department estimated that there were about twenty students in that category. On the closing of the school, the plan had been either to send them to the Qu'Appelle residence or to place them in foster homes. The people with whom Wattie spoke raised two concerns about this plan. First, it would remove children from contact with their home community. Although the children came from families with problems, Wattie was told that "each child has strong bonds of attachment to one or more parent, grandparent, relative or guardian." Second, it was believed that foster parents were interested only in making money from fostering the children. Based on what he acknowledged to be only his first impression, he wrote that the foster home program "appears to be totally inadequate to the people's needs; placement is effected without a court order and supervision of homes seems to be non-existent." He pointed out that there were 120 children in foster homes in the Yorkton District. With that workload, the recently appointed child-welfare officer would be lucky to visit each home once a year. Since, he wrote, First Nations parents made little distinction between foster homes and boarding homes, there was considerable community resistance to the concept of boarding children out.[490]

The campaign to keep the Marieval residence open was successful. In June 1975, it was still in operation. It had fifty-two children in residence, fifty of whom were there because of problems in their homes.[491] Its existence was always precarious. In 1978, Sol Sanderson, the first vice-president of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, wrote to Indian Affairs, opposing the proposed closure of the Grayson (Marieval), Duck Lake, and Lestock (Muskowekwan, also spelled as Muscowequan) residences. He pointed out that "all areas in the province are experiencing a serious shortage of space, both for education services and for placement of children."[492]

First Nations organizations were not simply stopping the closure of the residences. As at Blue Quills, they began to take control of the institutions. In the face of First Nations pressure in November 1970, the Indian Affairs Education Branch proposed transferring the administration of federal hostels to First Nations. It was argued:

> Because residences are substitute homes for Indian students, it is important that in some form or another the Indian people are involved directly in the planning and operation of the residence program.... To increase Indian control and responsibility in this area it is proposed that residence services be contracted to Indian groups. The proposal is made in the belief that Indian people are prepared to assume direct responsibility for the operation of the residence services and to meet the Department's standards.[493]

In January 1971, the government was willing to "consider proposals from an Indian parent group regarding the transfer of management control of an individual residence to the group where a continuing need for the residence is foreseen." The Prince Albert, Gordon's, Qu'Appelle, Lestock, Duck Lake, and Beauval residences in Saskatchewan all were high on the Indian Affairs list of schools where such a need was anticipated.[494]

By the mid-1970s, there was a process in place by which control of the residences was being transferred from the federal government to the bands. One of the first post-Blue Quills takeovers was at the Qu'Appelle school.[495] The Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School Council was established in 1972 to "operate and direct the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School."[496] The council negotiated to take over the Qu'Appelle residence as of April 1973 and the school at a later date.[497] In the resulting contract, the federal government included the standards that it expected to be maintained at the school, requiring the board to

> provide for the students living in the residence nutrition conforming to the standards laid down by the Medical Services Bureau of the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Provincial Department of Health and shall permit inspection of the residence by officers of the Departments at intervals determined by the Ministers of National Health and Welfare and the Provincial Department of Health and shall carry into effect their recommendations as to what standard of nutrition, accommodation and child care shall be provided by the Board to those students in the residence.[498]

In addition, the board was to "ensure adequate fire protection in the residence, shall permit the Dominion Fire Marshall to inspect the residence at intervals determined by him and shall carry out his recommendations as to what fire protection measures are to be taken in the residence."[499]

Historically, the schools under church administration had failed to meet—due in large measure to government underfunding—many of these standards that the government now insisted upon for the First Nations authorities.

In addition, the contract stipulated:

> The hiring, disciplining and dismissal of all persons employed by the Board in or in connection with the residence and the number of persons to be so employed shall be solely under the control and within the discretion of the Board with the

> promise that decisions on such matters will be taken in consultation with the residence administrator.[500]

The transfer of the Qu'Appelle residence, the oldest in Saskatchewan, was followed by that of the Prince Albert residence, the largest in the province. The Prince Albert District Chiefs Council (PADCC) adopted a resolution in 1972 that the Prince Albert Student Residence should be transferred to a board of directors made up of representatives of the Chiefs of the Prince Albert Area and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians.[501] At the time, Indian Affairs suggested that alternative approaches be studied, including having it "staffed exclusively by local Indian people." However, the department was prepared to co-operate with the Chiefs of the Prince Albert Area if they wished to take over the residence.[502] By the end of that year, the organization had established a board that would assume eventual control over the residence.[503] The Anglican Church sought to slow the pace of change. The Indian Council of the Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan, which claimed to represent 7,500 Anglican First Nations people, suggested that the transfer be carried out over a period of years, during which Aboriginal people would be hired at the school to work under the direction of the current administration. The Anglicans also opposed any severing of the link between the school and the church. They argued that "many parents would no longer allow their children to go to the Residence" if the residence was not connected to the church.[504] In January 1973, an agreement was reached for a gradual transfer of responsibility. Under this agreement, Indian Affairs would retain considerable financial control over the residence.[505]

In May 1973, the Prince Albert Student Residence Board called on Indian Affairs to add two primary school classrooms at the residence because "students in the primary classes often have difficulty in integrated classes."[506] This was the first step in a process that led to the board's having authority over a residence and a school system. In April 1974, at the prompting of the board of directors, Indian Affairs agreed to the establishment of Kindergarten and grades One, Two, and Three at the residence.[507] That year, the residence was also renamed as the Prince Albert Indian Student Residence.[508] In 1985, the PADCC expanded the residence's educational capacity by leasing the Queen Elizabeth school from the Prince Albert School Division.[509] The residence was transferred to the PADCC and renamed the Prince Albert Indian Student Education Centre (PAISEC) in 1985.[510] It was developed into a substantial facility: eighteen buildings on 16.6 hectares of land.[511]

There were similar developments at other residences. In 1981, representatives of local First Nations established the Muskowekwan Indian Student Residence as a non-profit corporation to operate the residence at Lestock. An Aboriginal board of directors assumed control of the Marieval Indian Student Residence in 1981. After 1987, the residence was operated by the Cowessess First Nation as the Cowessess Community Education Centre. In 1982, the Duck Lake residence came under the control of the

Saskatoon District Chiefs. In 1984, control of the Qu'Appelle residence was transferred from the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School Council to the Star Blanket Band. The Meadow Lake Tribal Council took control of the Beauval Indian Residence in 1985.[512] Not all First Nations took the same approach, though; in 1974, the Onion Lake Band Council approved a resolution asking that the Onion Lake residence be replaced with four group homes.[513]

The First Nations agencies that administered residences sought to reinforce rather than eliminate Aboriginal cultural identity. The first item on the Qu'Appelle Student Residence committee's list of objectives was to "help the students in all areas so they become good citizens." The first listed objective of the academic program was to "foster pride in Indian culture." The second was to "improve the students [sic] self-image as an individual within a mixed society."[514] The first item in the PAISEC mission statement under the Student Development heading was to "foster pride in the Indian ancestry of the student," and the second point was to "provide and improve the student's self-image as an individual within a multi-cultural society."[515]

After the transfer of authority at Blue Quills, First Nations people were hired as supervisors, security guards, cooks, laundry staff, janitors, engineers, and maintenance workers.[516] Initially, the school offered grades Four to Nine, but, over time, lower grades were dropped as communities built their own elementary schools, and higher grades were added at Blue Quills. A Cree-language program was developed for all grades. In 1975, Blue Quills also began offering post-secondary education, starting with a teacher-training program. In later years, programs in liberal arts and public administration, and vocational training, were added.[517]

Aboriginal people began to assume positions of responsibility at government-run and church-operated, as well as at First Nations-run, residences. In 1972, James Neacappo was appointed senior administrator of the Anglican residence in Fort George.[518] The government renewed the provision that exempted residence administrators and child-care workers from the civil service in 1973. This was intended to give First Nations people a chance to get these jobs "in the least possible time," according to Oblate Yvon Levaque.[519] In September 1973, Alexander Aleck took over from H. F. Dunlop as the administrator of the Mission residence. Aleck had attended the Mission school and later taught at it.[520] Nathan Matthew, a former Kamloops student, took over responsibility for the Kamloops residence in 1973.[521] In April 1973, James Roberts was hired as the administrator trainee for the Prince Albert Student Residence.[522] Roberts had grown up in the residence and had worked there for the previous five years.[523] He became the residence administrator on November 1, 1973.[524] That same fall, Howard Bighead was the head child-care worker at the Prince Albert residence.[525]

Aboriginal people in British Columbia considered taking over residences but, with short-lived exceptions, chose not to do so. The detailed minutes of a meeting of representatives of the British Columbia residential school advisory boards in 1971

provide an overview of the range of attitudes towards the residences, and the prospect of band, as opposed to church or government, administration. For many people, the residences were preferable to integration. Chief Vincent Harris of Seabird Island said that, in his experience, "provincial school boards do not want to hear Indians speak." He asked how "they were going to control the provincial system when they integrate into white schools. The white people do not want Indians coming in to tell them what to do when they are managing the schools."

John Andrews, the former administrator of the Alberni school, warned, "He who played [sic] the piper called the tunes." By this, he meant that the government would likely retain considerable control over the residences. He pointed out that in the past, the churches had been, in effect, agents for Indian Affairs. "Now we are told that the Residences and schools shall be taken over and operated by various Indian groups but operating still in much the same way as the churches were before, as agents for the Department." As Andrews predicted, funding levels would severely compromise the effectiveness of First Nations-controlled residences.

Although closing residences meant that some children would return to their homes, there were worries about what would happen to orphans and students who had been placed in school for social-welfare reasons. Mrs. G. Guezin spoke of "how very difficult it is to find homes for Indian children. There are many orphans and children with problems who really need the residences. Where would these children be placed if the residences were to be phased out?"

There was also disagreement as to how effective the residential schools had been. According to the meeting minutes, Larry Seymour of Chemainus Bay said that when he looked at his community, he could see no improvements as a result of the education that had been provided. He saw "the unsuccessful attempts of various dedicated and sincere people trying to better the conditions of the Indians of his community. He sees NO changes in his community and no changes result from the present system in this institution and in institutions similar to it throughout the province." In his opinion, "The whole system has been one big failure, one big flop." He could see no reason why First Nations should not take over residences, since "THEY have failed completely. We couldn't do any worse." Bob Hall said that since 90% of the students had not made it through the residential school system, "something must be wrong." He said that church leaders did not have "the capacity to administer the Indian people." Therefore, he said, "Indian people should take over the administration of their own residences."

A Mrs. Andrews of Seabird Island took issue with criticisms of residential schools. She had gone to the Mission school and felt that the school had helped her and her classmates succeed and build good homes. "Some are holding down good executive jobs, some are teachers and others are carpenters and mechanics, etc. The Indians cannot say this residence has failed their people. If it were not for the Oblates picking up the pieces on the reserves, they would not be around now." Gilbert Joe said that

if the First Nations took over the Sechelt residence, they would wish to keep Father Dunlop as administrator. The federal response at the meeting was that if "an Indian group controlled a residence, the Department would give them the money as agreed upon to run the residence. The Indians could then, in turn, contract with any organization, church or otherwise for their services."[107]

In 1974, the West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs took over the administration of the Christie Residence, then located in Tofino, British Columbia.[107] By 1975, it appears, Indian Affairs had resumed administration of the residence.[108] By the end of the 1970s, most of the British Columbia residences had closed. Efforts to close the schools were often coupled with investments in building foster homes to take in children from the residences and in training foster parents. Delays in the construction of these homes led Indian Affairs to postpone for one year the planned closure of the Lytton residence.[109] The last British Columbia school to close was the Mission school (opened in 1892 and closed in 1984), which had also been the first to open in the region.[110]

The churches remained involved in the life of the residences, with Indian Affairs entering into contracts with the Anglicans and Oblates to provide a variety of services, including chaplaincy at the residences.[111] Oblate John Tritschler was the chaplain at the Mission residence from 1976 to 1984.[112] By 1987, the Oblates had largely withdrawn from educational work with First Nations people in British Columbia, due in part to a "shortage of Oblate personnel."[113] For their part, the Anglicans were still providing chaplaincy at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school into the 1980s.[114]

The schools under First Nations administration

The transfer of residential schools to Aboriginal control brought about significant changes and improvements to the residences. In 1988, Gerry Stonechild, the director of the Qu'Appelle residence, was asked to describe how conditions at the school had changed from the days when he had attended there in the 1940s.

> It's the same building on the outside, but the happiest kids in the world. Once again, super athletics. Our kids just came back from winning the district in basketball. I just had three kids come back from Saskatoon with gold medals, silver medals in track and field. Our volleyball teams are doing fantastic. Kids are hitting eighty, ninety averages.[115]

Stonechild's comments are clearly those of an enthusiast, but the hiring of Aboriginal administrators and Aboriginal staff did make an important difference to life in the residences. Eddy Isbir, a former student at the Kamloops residence, felt that Nathan Matthew made dramatic changes to the institution after becoming administrator in 1974.

> [illegible] days he changed that place just like you would snap your fingers. We were having waffles and boiled eggs, bacon and eggs, you name it. We thought we had just died and went to heaven. Milk was real milk, you know. It was wild, it was really wild, he was a godsend. To this day I have so much respect for that man.[137]

At the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school, the revised education program under Aboriginal administration would eventually boast a Cree-language program that covered all the grades offered in the school, a part-time counsellor, a resource room teacher, and a part-time cultural coordinator.[138]

The problems that soon emerged were not in the area of programming. They had to do with the operation and maintenance of the schools and residences themselves. As noted in the terms of the transfer to Aboriginal control, the residences were expected to meet a standard of care and maintenance established by Indian Affairs. In discussing the transfer of residences with British Columbia First Nations, Indian Affairs required that groups that took over residences had to adhere to:

> Food Services Standards which are reflected in Canada's Food Guide. National Health and Welfare people make regular inspections of residences and report on them.
>
> Fire Safety Precautions – Dominion Fire Marshall is responsible here.
>
> Standards of Child Care – reflected in some of Child Welfare law in the Province [sic].
>
> Administrative Standards – which provide standards in administrative process.[139]

It became operating that the government itself had failed to follow these same standards when the schools were under its management. The First Nations' ability to meet such standards would also clearly depend on the adequacy of government funding. A consultant's study done at the end of the 1980s concluded that the residences "are in need of major renovations, replacements and building and fire code upgrading. Contemporary accommodations, access, and safety standards are not being met in all cases." It was estimated that an investment of $61.7 million was needed to address the building deficiencies that existed in 1988.[140] Because Indian Affairs had intended to close the system from the 1960s onwards, the government limited its investment to emergency maintenance. If the buildings had been properly maintained, there may have been more funds [illegible] in the 1970s.

Temporary solutions often became permanent. The ten trailers that had been moved onto the Prince Albert residence property to serve as temporary classrooms in the mid-1970s were still in operation in 1988. By the late 1980s, there was uncertainty as to the facility's future. As a result, Indian Affairs was unwilling to invest in permanent buildings.[141]

At the core of the problem lay the funding formula [illegible]. In a brief to the federal minister of Indian Affairs in 1966, the board of the Regina [illegible] Education Centre stated that the federal government had not provided adequate funding since the centre had taken control of responsibility for education.[1] The Prince Albert administration believed that Indian Affairs funding had failed to keep up with the cost of food and clothing, a problem that was accentuated by the fact that, over the year, the percentage of older students classified as the facility increased.[2] Funding for staffing was also a problem. In 1970, David Cato (Cree) study, Mistusini and their interviews to staff had several that some residences workers had to work double-duties.[3] According to a 1966 consultant's study, "personal interesting practices provide-ble to the way of equity, nationality, providability or flexibility." In general, funding was based at the rates of township with little increase to the cost per student to differing prices. The residences had little bargaining power and, in effect, competed with one another for scarce funding.[4]

All these problems were intensified by the fact that social conditions caused these institutions to be transformed into child welfare institutions.

In 1972, Prince Albert board chairperson Alice [illegible] that parents were being allowed to escape their responsibilities by sending "their children to the residences at the least sign of difficulty." He said that one of the main purposes of the residences was to assist children who, "for a good reason," could not stay in their homes. Neither the residences nor the staff, however, was "equipped to deal with problem children."[5]

Indian Affairs official B. Wanton stated in 1970 that although the residences had been established and funded to provide a home for students while they were attending school, it was becoming apparent that they were being used to house children with special needs. There was an adequate per placement appointed both to assist counselling with parents, as casework or groups, and as planning for after care needs.[6]

The trend continued into the 1980s. By [illegible] 1987, more than [illegible] of the admissions to the Prince Albert residences were for "social" reasons.

Table [illegible]: Reasons for admission to Prince Albert Indian Student Education Centre, September 1983

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

The problems the government faced in attempting to wind down the system completely were exemplified in a statement attributed to Andy Michael (likely Andy Mitchell) of the St. Michael's (Duck Lake) Residence. According to an Indian Affairs memorandum, he had said that "you got us into the residences kicking and screaming; you will now have to drag us out kicking and screaming." The closures were processed, but Indian Affairs had concluded that the schools constituted a liability and it wished to be rid of them.[155]

By the 1980s, a growing number of former students were speaking out about the abuse they had undergone in residential schools. Police investigations that would eventually lead to a number of convictions were underway. The groundwork was also being prepared for eventual civil cases. Both these developments are discussed in following chapters. Concerns over future liability appear to have reinforced the government's determination to close the schools. The 1982 conviction of William Starr, the former administrator of the Gordon's residence, on ten counts of sexually assaulting students in the residence underscored the issue.[156] An internal Indian Affairs document discussed the case in the context of plans to close all the residences. After noting that the Gordon's residence was a government-operated facility, the author wrote, "Although considerable action has been taken to educate staff and children in all residences, the fact remains that as the operator and manager of the Gordons [sic] Residence system is responsible and liable."[157] Starr had left the school in 1968, but the Gordon's school had continuing problems with staff members' administration of harsh and abusive discipline well into the 1970s. This is discussed in detail in other chapters of this report.[158]

The Inuvik residence continued to operate until 1995.[159] The Duck Lake and the Gordon's residences both closed in 1996.[160] The Lestock (Marieval), Cowessess (Marieval), and Prince Albert residences all closed in 1997.[161]

First Nations groups worried that the government had failed to put in place adequate measures to deal with the social as well as educational needs of the children who had been living in these institutions. Montreal Lake Director of Education Julia Isbister noted that the band was using the Prince Albert residence "as a resource for families who are experiencing family violence and abuse." She said that considerable work needed to be done before students returned to the community from the school.[162] The Lac La Ronge Band warned that its child and family service agency had at least thirty-three students who were "severely dysfunctional," requiring twenty-four-hour supervision. It requested that the Prince Albert residence stay open until these students could be safely accommodated back in the community.[163] In March 1997, when the closure of the Prince Albert Indian Student Education Centre was being planned, it was estimated that approximately 140 of the students in the institution would be in need of some form of child welfare after the closure of the facility.[164] After it closed in June 1997, the Prince Albert facility became the home of the Prince

Alberta Grand Council Child Care Education Centre. The centre's program concentrated on students whose needs were not being met in their communities. The initial enrolment was sixty-six."[xxv]

In the face of a government plan to close the Qu'Appelle residence, the Star Blanket Cree Nation proposed that the sixty-year-old building be replaced by a new structure. Operated as an "elite school," it would offer grade Seven to Twelve on a residential basis. The band's proposal argued that "Indian children fail when transferred to off-reserve schools."[xxvi] The federal government rejected the proposal and the last students left the school in June 1988. On March 23, 1988, the building was destroyed.

Vern Bellegarde, the former chief administrator of the school, was present when the building was destroyed. He told reporters, "My grandfather, John Bellegarde, was at the school in 1903 when it burned down. My father, Joseph Bellegarde, was there in 1932 when it burned down again. I didn't get to see it burned down but...."

Michael Starr, who had attended the school as a day student in the 1970s, called it an "emotional day." He said, "Some of the history is gone ... in a lot of ways the people who have been hurt by the residential schools have had some of that pain taken away by knocking it down. At the same time there were a lot of good memories in the school."[xxvii]

Indian Affairs officials had lost faith in residential schooling by early 1940. The 1948 report of the Special Joint Committee of Parliament had called for the end of all separate First Nations education institutions. The 1951 *Indian Act* gave government officials the instruments they needed to provide education to First Nations students through contracts with provincial schools. Yet, it took nearly sixty years for Indian Affairs to bring the system to an end.

The schools survived for so long due to the overall lack of on-reserve classroom space for First Nations students, the continuing church support for residential schooling, the growing number of First Nations students, and, most fundamentally, the First Nations opposition to the wholesale transfer of their children to provincial schools. During this period, the half-day system ended, educational qualifications improved—and funding and government control increased. These increases followed decades of financial neglect. Although the increases could improve the daily operation of the schools, many of the institutions continued to deteriorate.

In 1952, an Indian Affairs inspector compared the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, to Dotheboys Hall, a fictional boarding school in Charles Dickens's novel *Nicholas Nickleby*. According to the inspector, "All children from Grade III up perform farm and domestic duties daily outside of classroom instruction time, and each child in Grade III-VIII spends two half days of school instruction time at these same chores."
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P2004-03-145.

The school laundry at the Brandon, Manitoba, school, 1946.
National Film Board of Canada, Photothèque, Library and Archives Canada, PA-096133.

Clockwise from top left, classroom life at schools in Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories; Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan; Prince Albert, Saskatchewan; and Mission, British Columbia.

Diocese of Churchill-Hudson Bay, CHB 07 03018; Bud Glunz, National Film Board of Canada, Photothèque, Library and Archives Canada, PA-134110; General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7556-46; Mission Community Archives, MCA-248-10.

For the churches, Aboriginal languages remained part of the missionary tool kit in a broader campaign to win not only Aboriginal children but also their parents to Christianity and away from traditional beliefs. At the Fort George Roman Catholic school in Québec, religious instruction was given in both English and Aboriginal languages.
Deschâtelets Archives.

A depiction of the martyrdom of Father Jean Brébeuf from *Les missionnaires au pays des indiens* (*The Missionaries in Indian Country*), one of the books in use in residential schools in Québec in the 1960s.

G-3807-FC-2
Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School, Kenora, Ont., 1931

In 1953, J. E. Andrews, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, wrote that "we must face realistically the fact that the only hope for the Canadian Indian is eventual assimilation into the white race."
The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, G-3807-fc-2.

Dave Crowchild and Teddy Yellowfly at a railway station, waiting to board the train to Ottawa to appear before the Joint Committee on the Indian Act in 1947. When he appeared before the committee, Yellowfly stressed that Aboriginal people "very definitely have a religion of their own."
Glenbow Museum, NA-4212-42.

The Mallettenam school at Sept Îles, Québec, was the first of a number of new residential schools constructed in that province after the end of the Second World War.
Library and Archives Canada, PA-212283.

The girls' physical education class at the La Tuque, Québec, residential school.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P82/1-6.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In 1931, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, recommended that the Roman Catholic school in Blackfoot, Alberta, be closed. It remained in operation until 1961.

Even though the school had trouble recruiting students, the Anglican Church was reluctant to close its Mohawk Training Institute. The church feared that the school's closure would be an admission of failure that would signal the church's stagnation and embarrass the goodness of Christian Catholic missionaries.

Shortly after taking over as principal of the Anglican school in Aklavik, Alberta, Eric Darlington reported to John Ure the water in the school had "to put it mildly a flavour all its own, the colour is that of medium strong coffee, so very hard and discolours all receptacles it has the antithesis to tooth."
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P76-1975-009

In 1906, the Chapleau, Ontario, school was just one of a number of residential schools with an inadequate water supply
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P2008-0001

Overcrowding was thought to have contributed to an outbreak of tuberculosis cases at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school in the spring of 1907.

St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Hamel, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, N3.001.

Young girls brushing their teeth at the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec. Dental care at the school was compromised by bureaucratic bartling: Indian Affairs paid for toothbrushes, but the federal Health Department was responsible for supplying tooth cleaners.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-103-S1-001.

CHAPTER 33

The educational record: 1940–2000

In 1964, Kay Cronin, the author of a very admiring history of the Oblates in British Columbia and herself an honorary Oblate, presented a dismal report to a meeting of Oblate residential school principals in Ottawa on the work of the residential schools. For the previous five years, she had been working in Vancouver with Aboriginal students who had come into the city in search of additional training and education. She noted that when she had been researching her book on the Oblates, she had seen little to fault about the residential school system. But, once she started working with former students,

> all the platitudes I had been mouthing about the need for these sweet, sensitive youngsters to be rescued from the bad influences of broken homes, the reserve system, the evils of our materialistic white society and its godless public school system, were shot to smithereens, and I had to start re-thinking about Indian education all over again.

Her work with former students had led her to conclude that the schools had not adequately prepared them for the education they wished to pursue in the city. They had little training in how to handle money or look for a job. Although most First Nations students struggled with these issues to some degree, she felt that "these problems were most marked in the products of the residential school system."[1] Cronin presented the principals with a set of proposals for how the schools could be improved.

The time for church-led reform, however, was past. Within five years, the federal government would take complete control over the schools and commence the process of closing the system. The shortcomings that Cronin pointed to were only part of the overall failure of the residential schools as a system of education.

Until the late 1950s, the residential schools constituted a complete educational and residential system. Students both lived and were educated in the same institution. Under the integration policy of the 1950s, the unified nature of residential schooling began to change in a number of ways. In some cases, students lived in residences (usually called "hostels") and were educated in day schools. By 1959, there were 283 First Nations students living in such residences and attending Indian Affairs schools, and

737 attending non-Indian Affairs day schools. (Because Indian Affairs had transferred authority for First Nations education in the Northwest Territories to Northern Affairs, none of the Indian Affairs statistics after 1954–55 include figures from the Northwest Territories.)[2] In that year, there were 9,691 First Nations students living and studying in residential schools. By 1965, there were 9,875 students living in residential schools or hostels, but only 6,717 of them were attending school in a residential school.[3] The rest were going to day school, usually a public school. Since the 1965–66 Indian Affairs annual report was the last one to contain separate reports that allow one to distinguish between the number of students living and those living and studying in the same institution, it becomes difficult from that date onward to report on the academic achievement of residential school students. The 1968 decision to formally divide all remaining residential schools into separate institutions—a residence and a day school—meant that, from an administrative and record-keeping perspective, all First Nations students were day school students.[4] During the 1950s, an increasing number of reserve-based residential schools began educating day students who lived with their parents on the reserve. In other words, from the 1960s onwards, residential schools were not necessarily complete educational and residential institutions. Increasing numbers of residents were attending classes in other schools, and a growing number of students attending classes at the residential school were living at home. All these developments make it increasingly difficult to generalize about the effectiveness of residential school education after 1960, although it should be recognized that after 1969, the number of students receiving a residential school education began to decline rapidly.

Slow progress

The 1940s and 1950s, however, were a period of peak residential school enrolment, with detailed national figures on academic accomplishment. Based on that information, it is apparent that from an academic perspective, the system was a failure. Over a twenty-year period (1940–41 to 1959–60), 41.3% of each year's residential school Grade One enrolment was not promoted to Grade Two. (See Table 33.1 for details.)

Table 33.1. Numbers of residential students in Grade One advancing/not advancing to Grade Two, 1940–41 to 1959–60.

Year	Number of Students in Grade One	Number of Students in Grade Two the Following Year	Number of Grade One Students Held Back	Percentage of Grade One Class Held Back
1940–41	2,923	1,404	1,519	52
1941–42	2,754	1,423	1,331	48.3
1942–43	2,806	1,436	1,370	48.8
1943–44	2,592	1,286	1,306	50.4
1944–45	2,820	1,366	1,454	51.6
1945–46	2,951	1,530	1,421	48.2
1946–47	2,657	1,413	1,244	46.8
1947–48	2,563	1,443	1,120	43.7
1948–49	2,779	1,345	1,434	51.6
1949–50	2,770	1,469	1,301	47
1950–51	2,619	1,487	1,132	43.2
1951–52	2,762	1,545	1,217	44.1
1952–53	2,709	1,768	941	34.7
1953–54	2,626	1,643,	983	37.4
1954–55	2,633	1,540	1,093	41.5
1955–56	2,594	1,640	954	36.8
1956–57	1,828	1,514	314	17.2
1957–58	1,552	1,405	147	9.5
1958–59	1,553	1,347	206	13.3
1959–60	1,372	1,252	120	8.7
Total/Average	49,863	29,256	20,607	41.3

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1941*, 189; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1942*, 154; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1943*, 168; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1944*, 177; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1945*, 190; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1946*, 231; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1947*, 236; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1948*, 234; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1949*, 234, 215; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1950*, 86–87; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1951*, 34–35; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1952*, 74–75; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1953*, 82–83; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1954*, 88–89; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1955*, 78–79; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1956*, 76–77; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1956–57*, 88–89; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1958*, 90–91; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1959*, 94; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1960*, 94; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1961*, 103.

This means that for much of this period, nearly 50% of each Grade One class was made up of pupils who were repeating the grade, and most students spent two years in Grade One. This was generally due to the large percentage of students who entered school unable to speak French or English. For example, in 1952, 29 of the 181 students in residence at the Brandon school were reported as being able to speak no more than one or two words of English. These students likely would have been in the early grades.[5] As late as the mid-1960s, an Aboriginal language constituted the mother tongue of 3,839 out of 5,075 (75%) new students at Indian Affairs schools (this included both day and residential schools).[6]

Grade progress improved only slightly in later years, as can be seen in Table 33.2. The second column shows the number of residential students in Grade Two in each school year from 1941–42 to 1957–58. (This comparison uses Grade Two rather than Grade One as the starting point because of the very high number of Grade One students who were repeating the grade. It should also be recognized, though, that the grades Two and Six enrolments also include students who are repeating the year.) The third column shows the number of residential school students who had advanced to Grade Six four years later. Over a seventeen-year period, on average, only 53% of the Grade Two enrolment was in Grade Six four years later. As can be seen from the table, this barrier remained constant for the entire period. The only conclusion from this is that approximately half of each year's enrolment ever got to Grade Six.

Table 33.2. Number of residential students in Grade Two advancing to Grade Six, 1941–42 to 1957–58.

Year of Grade Two Enrolment	Number of Residential School Students in Grade Two	Number of Residential School Students in Grade Six Four Years Later	Percentage of Grade Two Enrolment in Grade Six Four Years Later
1941–42	1,404	705	50.2
1942–43	1,423	721	50.7
1943–44	1,436	684	47.6
1944–45	1,286	706	54.9
1945–46	1,366	735	53.8
1946–47	1,530	675	44.1
1947–48	1,413	736	52.1
1948–49	1,443	775	53.7
1949–50	1,345	916	68.1
1950–51	1,469	864	58.8
1951–52	1,487	824	55.4
1952–53	1,545	893	57.8
1953–54	1,768	839	47.45

Year of Grade Two Enrolment	Number of Residential School Students in Grade Two	Number of Residential School Students in Grade Six Four Years Later	Percentage of Grade Two Enrolment in Grade Six Four Years Later
1954–55	1,643	910	55.4
1955–56	1,540	806	52.3
1956–57	1,640	865	52.7
1957–58	1,514	787	52
1958–59	1,405	681	48.5
Total/Average	26,657	14,122	53

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1942*, 154; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1943*, 168; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1944*, 177; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1945*, 190; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1946*, 231; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1947*, 236; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1948*, 234; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1949*, 215; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1950*, 86–87; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1951*, 34–35; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1952*, 74–75; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1953*, 82–83; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1954*, 88–89; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1955*, 78–79; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1956*, 76–77; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1956–57*, 88–89; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1958*, 91; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1959*, 94; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1960*, 94; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1961*, 102; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1962*, 73; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1963*, 62.

Since almost half the students were not advancing to Grade Six, it is not surprising to discover that few were in high school. A 1956 study of First Nations education in Canada concluded that 61% of the total First Nations enrolment (day and residential schools) of 28,174 were in grades One to Three, while only 136 students (less than 0.5%) were in Grade Twelve.[7]

In the 1950s, Indian Affairs adopted a policy that encouraged regular promotion through the grades. A 1954 handbook for Indian Affairs teachers in Alberta provides the following guidance for promotions:

> In general, pupils with a consistent 'E' [below 50%] standing should be required to remain a second year in the present grade. No pupil should remain more than four years in Division (Grades I–III). Any pupil who attains his eleventh birthday in Grade III should be promoted to Grade IV at the end of the following June. No pupil, after Grade II, should remain more than two years in any grade.[8]

Despite this policy, many children advanced only slowly through the grades. A 1958 report on the age and grade of all First Nations students (which did not separate day school students from residential school students) concluded that of 33,320 First Nations students, 468 (1.4%) were under the normal age—when compared with the general school population—for the grade they were registered in; 14,623 (43.9%) were

at the normal age for the grade they were in; and 10,299 (54.9%) were over the normal age for the grade in which they were registered.[9]

Other studies (which included both day and residential school students) could find only marginal improvements in the 1960s. For example, where, in 1956, only 2.74% of the First Nations student enrolment was in high school, a decade later, the figure had grown to 5%. Although this represented a doubling of the percentage, the grade distribution for First Nations students remained troubling. Table 33.3 shows the grade distribution for First Nations students in 1956 and 1966, and provides the 1965 grade distribution for the general Canadian population for comparison. In mid-1960s, three-quarters of the First Nations enrolment was in the primary grades, compared with 60% for the general population. As the table makes clear, as late as 1966: 1) a considerable percentage of First Nations students were not progressing through elementary school; 2) most First Nations students were leaving school once they reached the legal age to leave school; and 3) non-Aboriginal students were six and a half times more likely to advance to high school than Aboriginal students.[10]

Table 33.3. Grade distribution, First Nations students for 1956 and 1966, and 1965 grade distribution total provincial school enrolment.

	One-Six	Seven-Nine	Ten-Twelve
1956 First Nations enrolment	85.16	12.10	2.74
1966 First Nations enrolment	72.55	17.45	5.00
1965 Provincial enrolment*	58.31	23.88	17.81

* This represents all pupils regardless of race in provincial schools across Canada.
Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1965-66*, 61.

By the 1960s, the federal government was still publishing data on the academic progress of First Nations students, but it was no longer describing whether students were graduates of day schools or residential schools. By that date, many students would have attended a variety of different schools—Indian Affairs day schools, residential schools, and public schools—during their educational career. But there was no avoiding the fact that most students were not succeeding. While it was possible to speak of individual successes, the overall outcomes were far from successful. For the 1967-68 school year, Indian Affairs reported that there were only 180 First Nations students attending Canadian universities.[11] When the Canadian Welfare Council's highly critical report on residential schools was published in 1967 (often referred to as the "Caldwell Report," after its primary author, George Caldwell), it was met with a hostile response from the Oblate residential school principals of British Columbia. One of their objections to the report was its lack of information on the successful Indians "who have been educated by the system which Mr. Caldwell seems most anxious to destroy."[12]

In responding, Caldwell said he had undertaken a survey of former students. "In contrast to the extremely positive views expressed by the principals of what such a survey would reveal, the responses were quite negative." So negative were the responses, in fact, that the report limited itself to reporting on the responses from students who had attended school during the 1960s, when, in Caldwell's opinion, "the system was better financed and staffed." To include the comments of the students who had attended prior to 1960 would, Caldwell thought, "have amounted to an exposé which would have set back the progress made in the 1960's [sic] in the schools."[xxi]

During a period when the schools had total control over the students and the national economy was prospering, residential schools—and Indian Affairs schools in general—were failing to provide Aboriginal children with the education they needed to allow them to advance through the school system at the same rate as non-Aboriginal children. There is no single cause for this failure. Contributing factors, however, would include poorly qualified staff, poor student treatment, conflict between the government and the churches over the purpose of education, inappropriate curriculum, and inadequate supplies, not to mention the emotional factors associated with loneliness and displacement from home and family, and the more extreme effects of trauma on the ability to learn, for those experiencing abuses of different kinds.

Improving staff qualifications

Throughout his career as deputy minister of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott had regularly committed the department to making "a determined effort to secure the services of better qualified academic and vocational instructors for the boarding schools."[xxii] The Great Depression led to cuts in funding, and by the end of the 1930s, many teachers still lacked proper qualifications.[xxiii] During the Second World War, when all Canadian schools were having problems recruiting and retaining qualified teachers, it is not surprising to learn that residential schools also faced serious challenges in finding these staff members.[xxiv] Matters did not improve significantly in the post-war period. Not only were residential schools competing with provincial public schools, but they also could not match the salaries and benefits at Indian Affairs day schools. In 1947, for example, Indian Affairs approved a salary schedule for day school and Indian Affairs hospital teachers.[xxv] The teachers at day schools were also eligible for federal pension benefits. The increase in pay and benefits led, according to Indian Affairs, to a "considerable improvement" in "the standard of the teachers employed in Indian day schools."[xxvi] Teachers at residential schools, however, continued to be recruited and paid by the churches with money from the per capita grant.

In 1948, the principal of the Birtle, Manitoba, school was looking for an experienced teacher for the junior classroom, but found "they are so scarce and our salaries are not

as attractive as most public schools." A well-qualified young woman had contacted the school in search of a job, but decided to go to work for the Swan River school board, since it offered her a better salary.[7] Salary levels also varied considerably from school to school. Indian Affairs official J. Coleman observed that the salaries paid at the Anglican school in Alert Bay, British Columbia, in 1947 were about half those being paid at the United Church school at Alberni.[8]

Many of the Catholic schools survived on what amounted to volunteer labour. In 1948, Sechelt, British Columbia, principal H. F. Hastings informed Ottawa,

> If this school kept out of the red during the past year it was largely due to the fact that four Oblates, working from 8:00 times, received in salaries from Jan 1947 to Jan 1948 the grand total of $1000. This works out to $20 per month for each man and does include my salary as Principal. Surely your office has occasion doubt that amount. It would seem, then, for the virtue of making the school breaks balance a considerable expense to the Oblate Fathers we have been penalized.[9]

As late as 1960, the nuns at the Christie Island school in British Columbia were being paid $30 a month — a fact that made Principal A. Swanson "feel like a fool."[10]

Increasingly, the Catholic schools were not able to find enough qualified teachers from within the religious orders. When forced to hire teachers from outside the orders, they faced the same problems as the Protestants. In 1949, a provincial inspector reported that over the previous eight years, there had been ten teachers at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario. Although two had stayed for five years, the average stay was 1.3 years. The inspector noted this "constant changing of teachers renders it impossible for the teachers to take any extended interest in the pupils." He also noted that this was the nineteenth consecutive year in which the Catholic school had not prepared any children for the Grade Eight entrance examination. He went on: "Your school will never have the prestige among the Indians that its work entitles it to unless you can arrange to have a staff of qualified teachers left at the school long enough to exercise their influence upon and mould the characters and ideals of the children."[11] Bernard Neary, the superintendent of Indian education, received a copy of the letter and commented that, having "succeeded in our Indian Day Schools in gradually reducing the number of non-certified teachers," it was time that "similar efforts be made in residential schools."[12]

Little could be done to improve the recruiting and retention of qualified teachers as long as the schools had to hire staff with funds from the inadequate per capita grant. The decision by Indian Affairs in 1954 to take over "responsibility for the employment of teaching staff at all government-owned residential schools" was a significant advance on this front.[13] In 1955, there were 249 residential school teachers employed by Indian Affairs. Of these, according to Indian Affairs, 68% (141) held at least a first-class teacher's certificate. Seventeen per cent (41) held a second-class certificate and

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

> [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

where it was normal practice to form a portion of the salaries background for individual members of religious staff over to the order as a whole. In this case, Mulvihill noted that if he was obliged to hire a lay teacher (who would have to be paid a full-time salary), the Oblate order "won't [sic] get any surplus from Mission this year."[55] In the end, Ryan was obliged to hire a lay teacher for $3,200 a year, causing Oblate Provincial L. R. Pompure to worry that, for the Oblates, "the outlook is not very optimistic."[56]

The fact that so many of the Roman Catholic teachers came from Quebec or Europe meant that there was one additional complication to the issue of teacher qualifications. There are numerous reports to the effect that even in the post-war period, teachers at Catholic schools in Alberta were more comfortable in French than in English. Oblate Gerald E. Kelly, whose career in the residential schools of British Columbia started in 1945, recalled that once when he visited the Hobbema school in Alberta, the "Oblates there spoke French except in the classroom. Likewise, the Sisters spoke French apart from the classroom. After the evening meal I was visiting the outdoor rink and all the children, players as well as spectators, were conversing in Indian." He added, "The English language got limited attention."[57] Harold Cardinal, who attended the Joussard, Alberta, school, described the same experience but in much harsher language:

> The curriculum stank, and the teachers were middle and second rates. Even in my own elementary school days, in grade eight I found myself taking over the class because my teacher, a misfit, has-been or never was sent out by his superiors from Quebec to teach savages in a wilderness school because he already failed in civilization, couldn't speak English well enough to make himself understood. Naturally, he knew no Cree. When we protested such inequities we were silenced as "ungrateful little savages who don't appreciate what is being done for you."[58]

In 1956, it was the view of a group of Alberta government school superintendents who had experience with Indian Affairs schools that the quality of instruction at what they termed "mission schools" was "not up to standard," in part because "qualified teachers are seldom employed." They also noted that the teachers did not always follow the provincial curriculum. As a result, the instruction did "not begin to approach the standards that we set for our public schools." According to a report based on the meeting of the superintendents:

> The library facilities for the mission schools were reported to be inadequate in practically every case. Most of the literature supplied is religious in nature and far above the comprehension of the pupils. Superintendents reported that they had frequently recommended suitable books, but that these recommendations were seldom, if ever, carried out. Several of these persons were of the opinion that the books for the Indian schools were chosen in Ottawa by persons without teaching experience who were not conversant with conditions in Indian schools.

In making recommendations on what would constitute a suitable course of study, the superintendents stressed, "The Indian is artistic and is fond of handwork but he loathes anything pertaining to the abstract. He is fond of nature, athletics and games." It was recommended that "every effort should be made to provide trained teachers with suitable backgrounds." In addition, staff "should be imbued with missionary spirit. They should have a satisfactory academic background and adequate training in pedagogy." It was further recommended that "they receive special courses in the teaching of Indian children from experienced and competent instructors."[42]

Protestant church officials resisted Indian Affairs' attempts to improve the quality of teaching in the schools. By the early 1940s, for example, Indian Affairs and Anglican Church officials had very different views as to the quality of education being provided at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school. School principal R. W. Frayling had been appointed in 1930, largely on the basis of his business experience: he was neither a clergyman nor a teacher. In 1941, he was seventy years old. He had lost considerable support in the Aboriginal community when eleven-year-old Andrew Gordon froze to death in 1909 while attempting to run away from the school. The local member of Parliament, G. H. Castleden, told Indian Affairs that in his opinion, not only was Frayling too old for his position, but, in addition, one of his assistants, who had thirty years' experience, was also too old. An inspection carried out at the end of the 1940–41 school year concluded that progress in the boys' classroom had suffered from the fact that there had been three different teachers that year. The last teacher was thought to have done a good job, but he had just enlisted in the military. The girls' room teacher was thought to lack "the enthusiasm required to bring the pupils to their maximum effort." She had been at the school for twenty-nine years. It was thought that her methods were routine and her students unmotivated. Another inspector had reported that representatives of the Gordon's Reserve thought grades Seven and Eight should be added to the grade levels currently being provided, along with more vocational training. However, when R. A. Hoey asked Anglican Bishop E. H. Knowles to consider appointing a new principal, he was told that, in the opinion of people Knowles respected, the "Gordon's school was considered second to none in the Indian schools of the Dominion." A frustrated Hoey recommended that his superiors at Indian Affairs ask Knowles to request Frayling's resignation.[43] However, Frayling was still principal in 1944 when members of the Gordon's Reserve petitioned the Anglican Church to have him replaced.[44] The church finally asked Frayling to resign in the summer of 1944.[45] Six staff members then resigned to show their support for him.[46] By the end of October, the school staff consisted only of Frayling and three other staff members.[47] He left office at the end of November 1944. It was not until December that the Ottawa office of Indian Affairs received notice of the appointment of his successor, Rev. J. H. Corkhill.[48]

Curriculum: Startling errors of omission and commission

Since the 1920s, Indian Affairs had required residential schools to adopt provincial curricula.[69] The department also asked provincial governments to have their school inspectors inspect Indian Affairs schools.[70] The wisdom of this practice had been questioned during the hearings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons inquiry into the *Indian Act* in the 1940s. Andrew Moore, the secondary school inspector for the Province of Manitoba, told the committee members that Indian Affairs should take full responsibility for all aspects of First Nations education, including curriculum.[71] Provincial education departments, including the one he worked for, were "not organized or not interested in Indian schools."[72] He also thought that Indian Affairs should inspect its own schools rather than contracting the job to provincial school inspectors. "It was an extra job for them and I should say in at least fifty per cent of the cases they were not particularly interested in Indian education. They were competent to find out about the three R's and so on, but they were not trying to give the leadership that they would normally give in their own fields."[73] In the case of Manitoba schools, he said, "Our inspection officials are loaded to the roof without any extra time for Indian schools, as a rule; and they are just handed to them."[74]

Moore's comments were completely out of step with the Indian Affairs intention to transfer more responsibility for First Nations education to provincial governments, and were ignored. Instead, Indian Affairs claimed to allow for a few deviations from provincial curriculum in "areas in which the native population has achieved a significant degree of integration." In "less advanced areas," teachers were expected to

> place greater emphasis on functional language, arithmetic, and activities, personal and community hygiene, and the development of good citizenship. Examples of adaptations of the curriculum include the special attention given to anti-tuberculosis measures by Indian schools in British Columbia, and the practical course in beaver-trapping and conservation which is offered to older boys at Moose Fort Residential School in Ontario.[75]

It was not until 1959 that Indian Affairs instructed the schools to provide students with education on the Treaties between First Nations and the Canadian government. The instruction was expected to cover only the specific Treaty that applied in the region where the school was located, as opposed to providing a general history of the Treaties.[76] If there was no applicable Treaty, it appears that nothing was taught. For example, the Indian commissioner for British Columbia stated that since "virtually no Indians in the Yukon Agency received treaty," there was no need to include the study of Treaties in the Indian Affairs schools in the Yukon.[77] In the minds of officials, there was no thought that all Canadians should be taught about Treaties.

There was a gap between policy pronouncement and reality: some schools were not able to teach the provincial curriculum, due to lack of proper supplies. In November 1943, the principal of the Mission school complained to the British Columbia Indian commissioner about Indian Affairs' failure to provide requested textbooks. The principal noted that the school inspector had insisted that the school have the books, yet the department had not provided sufficient quantities of some books and no copies of other books. The delay was "a constant source of discouragement and difficulty to our teachers."[78] A teacher at the Brandon school in Manitoba, M. E. McNeill, voiced a similar complaint in December 1948. Books that she had ordered a year earlier, and had reordered in June and in the fall, had yet to arrive. "We have 59 pupils at the present time in Grs I & II, so would appreciate it very much if this order could be filled."[79] John House, the principal of the Gleichen, Alberta, school, complained in 1947 that although the schools were supposed to follow the provincial curriculum, Indian Affairs often provided inappropriate textbooks. He claimed that Indian Affairs had "some publishers down east who are on the patronage list and from them it purchases Ontario or any other school books which it hopes will fill the bill and shoots them along." For fifteen years, he said, inspectors and principals had been complaining about the practice, to no avail.[80]

The decision to ignore Andrew Moore's advice and leave curriculum to provincial education departments meant that Aboriginal students were subjected to an education that demeaned their history, ignored their current situation, and did not even recognize them or their families as citizens. This was one of the reasons for the growing Aboriginal hostility to the Indian Affairs integration policy. An examination of the treatment of Aboriginal people in provincially approved textbooks reveals just how serious and deep-rooted a problem this was. In response to a 1956 recommendation that textbooks be developed that were relevant to Aboriginal students, Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey commented, "The preparation of school texts is an extremely difficult matter." It was his opinion that "there are other needs which can be met more easily and should be undertaken first." He gave a similar response to a recommendation to provide more instruction in "Indian arts and crafts." He said that previous efforts to do so had met with "very limited success."[81]

The Québec history curriculum provides an example of the way in which Aboriginal people were not even considered to be part of the potential student body. Québec did not have a provincial department of education until 1964.[82] Prior to that time, education in the province was essentially directed by two committees: one Protestant, one Catholic. In 1959, the *Programme d'Études des Écoles Élémentaires* of the Catholic committee (the Comité Catholique du Conseil de l'Instruction Publique) proclaimed that the main purpose of teaching history was to "reveal to the child the action of Divine Providence." History classes were expected to emphasize "the purity of our French-Canadian origins, the religious, moral, heroic and idealistic character of our

ancestors," along with the role that God had played "in the survival of our nationality."[83] It was a curriculum that did not even contemplate the existence of Aboriginal children as students.

By the mid-1960s, a number of critical analyses of the portrayal of Aboriginal people in textbooks began to be published. In 1964, Norma Sluman had conducted a review of the treatment of Aboriginal people in five textbooks used in Manitoba. She concluded that although there had been significant improvement over the past decade, "there is still much to be done. There are startling errors of omission, as well as commission."[84] That same year, an Indian and Métis Conference brief to the Manitoba government argued that "the treatment accorded to our aboriginal people in our history text books is still unsatisfactory." Aboriginal religions were disparaged, their positive contributions to Canadian society were ignored, their mistreatment at the hands of colonists was glossed over, and their social problems were misrepresented.[85]

The third volume of the *Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (commonly referred to as the "Parent Report") appeared in 1966. It recommended that Canadian history textbooks used in the province be edited to present an image of Aboriginal peoples that corresponded more closely to reality by rejecting the then-widespread portrayals of First Nations as being cruel savages bent on the destruction of good-natured colonists.[86] A 1968 study on the way Ontario textbooks dealt with Aboriginal people reached the following conclusions.

> The original social and political organization of the various Indian groups is not adequately covered, and there is almost no material on religion, values, ethics or esthetics. Nowhere is there a really complete description of even one Indian culture. The omission of any factual material on the situation of the Canadian Indian today is equally serious. It is just as bad to leave out the facts as it would be to misrepresent them.[87]

Indian Affairs' attempts to improve the situation were largely ineffective. In 1960, George Davidson, the deputy minister responsible for Indian Affairs, wrote to all provincial education ministers to alert them of public concern over "misleading and biased statements on the history of the Indian people in Canada presented to Canadian school children through the text books." Davidson acknowledged that Indian Affairs itself had undertaken no independent research into the topic. He did note, however, that the recently published elementary school textbook by Aileen Garland, *Canada Our Country*, contained a number of misleading statements. It underestimated the number of First Nations people by 50%, it suggested that they were exempt from all game laws, and, the deputy minister thought, some passages in the book might lead readers to think that the Treaty payments were more generous than they actually were (Davidson, himself, described them as being token in nature).[88]

Growing concern over misrepresentation of Aboriginal people in textbooks led Indian Affairs in January 1968 to ask the teachers in Indian Affairs schools to

report their concerns with the textbooks they were using. Only 50 of 1,600 teachers responded to the request. A number of textbooks were singled out for their portrayals of Aboriginal people as being variously lazy, gluttonous, irreligious, savage, drunkards, cruel, uncouth, ignorant, and superstitious. Objections were made to the use of the word *squaw* to describe Aboriginal women and the word *redskins* to describe Aboriginal people. According to a summary of the responses,

> Teachers were more concerned by the omission of accurate up-to-date material on Indian people than they were about the negative point of view presented. It would appear that in Ontario the recommended texts were relatively free of discriminatory references but many were found in books entered for supplementary reading. The history books in general use in Quebec would appear to require a complete review.[89]

After reviewing the results, R. F. Davey—who, in 1956, had argued that revising textbooks was not a high priority—wrote in 1968,

> The immediate task of each [Indian Affairs] school superintendent is to ensure that all books containing discriminatory, biased and prejudiced statements about the Indian people be removed from our schools immediately. If such action involves basic textbooks or readers, the Department of Education should be advised of the problem and requested to suggest acceptable replacements.[90]

The problem was that by relinquishing curriculum to the provinces, Indian Affairs had done little to develop such replacements. A year after giving his instruction that objectionable books be removed immediately, Davey had to acknowledge that there were "increasing complaints" about textbooks

> in respect to either the disparaging comment [sic] about the Indians, the lack of adequate recognition of the contribution that the Indian has made in the development of this country, the disparity between the material and illustrations in the texts and the Indian environment, and the absence from the school curricula generally of an Indian cultural component.[91]

Negative assessments of textbooks continued to be published into the 1970s. In 1971, a study was prepared for the Ontario Human Rights Commission of social studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario. The study was given, with considerable justification, the alarming title *Teaching Prejudice*.[92] It looked at the treatment of a variety of groups in Canadian society, including Aboriginal people. The five most common words used to describe First Nations people were: "savage(s)," "friendly," "fierce," "hostile," and "skilful." For comparison, the five most common words used to describe Christians were: "devoted," "zealous," "martyr," "great," and "famous."[93] The authors observed that detailed descriptions of the execution of the Jesuit missionaries Jean Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were not placed in the context of punishments that were regularly inflicted on those convicted of heresy, witchcraft, or treachery in

European societies at the same time. Europeans who married Aboriginal women, the textbooks said, often "lowered themselves to the level of savages and became as ferocious as the Red-Skins." According to one text, "The Indians were still savages when the white man arrived, but the Agricultural Indians and the Pacific Coast Indians were perhaps closer to civilized life than the others."[94]

A review of the illustrations in the texts concluded that Aboriginal people were often "portrayed as primitive and unskilled; not infrequently they were shown as aggressive and hostile as well."[95] Not only were Aboriginal people poorly treated by history courses, but also their continuing existence was all but ignored. The authors observed:

> Although the course of study allows for the discussion of the Indian today in three separate grade levels, the only texts that dealt with this subject at all were in grade 7 geography, and even these contained only scattered and cursory references. Not one made any serious attempt to discuss the present status of the Canadian Indian, or the legal and ethical questions, especially those pertaining to treaty rights, which face Canadians.[96]

The Shocking Truth about Indians in Textbooks!, released by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in the mid-1970s, found the social studies texts and resources used by Manitoba students in grades Four, Five, and Six to be, in general, biased and inadequate. Their main failure was "to treat the Native as an impediment to be removed so that the goals of European 'progress' can be realized. After dealing with this conflict, the authors ignore the later history of Indian people."[97] The words "savage," "hostile," "howling," and "warlike" continued to be frequently used in describing Aboriginal people, while Aboriginal women were still, in some books, referred to as "squaws."[98]

Several staff handbooks published from the 1940s onwards provide insight into the expectations that the schools had for their students during this period. The staff handbook for the Presbyterian school in Kenora in the 1940s stated it was expected that upon leaving the school, most students would "return to the Indian Reserves from which they had come." The number who would continue on to high school represented "only a very small proportion of our total enrolment." Employment opportunities for most boys would be limited to "fishing, guiding tourists, cutting cordwood and trapping." And, although a few of the girls might find work during the summers in tourist camps, "for most of them marriage is the only decent course open as soon as they leave school." Given this future, staff members were told that "the best preparation we can give them is to teach them the Christian way of life."[99]

Staff members were also told to rid themselves "of any false ideas of 'civilising' the Indian. The word is often used wrongly. We believe that civilising is the process of teaching our way of life. We believe this, probably, because our own way of life is the only one we know anything about." The handbook noted, "Both parents and pupils have seen much, right in our schools, which does little to exemplify our teaching. In

Kenora the Indian is not welcomed by more than a few of the 'better people' He is allowed to feel at home only among drunks and prostitutes."[110]

The handbook maintained, "Before he had ever seen or heard a white man, the Indian was civilised; but his state of civilisation differed from our own." Contact with Europeans had, it was argued, served to undermine and degrade that civilization, which, the handbook stated, was characterized by a high standard of ethical behaviour, community responsibility, good health, and an abundant food supply.[111]

The crude, stereotypical language appears almost verbatim in the staff handbook at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school in the 1950s. For example, the Presbyterian book in Kenora informed staff, "Life in the wilderness has made the Ojibway shy of strangers. In the woods, the slightest sound was his signal to take cover. He and his children will still do this, even in foreign surroundings. His mind reacts in the same way as his body."[112] The Anglican book from Saskatchewan explained, "Life in the wilderness has made the Cree shy of strangers. For centuries the slightest sound in the woods was his signal to take cover. He and his children will still do this, even in foreign surroundings. His mind reacts in the same way as his body."[113]

A handbook that was assembled for use in the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school was clearly based on the earlier handbooks. In an expanded section on Aboriginal culture, it stated that First Nations had traditionally followed a "natural" religion that recognized the existence of spirits throughout nature. At the same time, they had "one supreme God," who was "Lord of all nature and the creator of all things."[114]

Language and culture

Former students have described residential schools as places where their cultures and languages were banned, marginalized, and derided. The churches—particularly the Roman Catholic Church—and the federal government took differing views towards the use of Aboriginal languages. From the government's perspective in the 1940s, the future for Aboriginal students lay in their learning English (or, in Quebec, French) as quickly as possible. Some of the churches, with their missionary tradition, were more prepared to create a place for Aboriginal languages, particularly for religious instruction. An event from 1947 underscores this tension. In that year, an Aboriginal man from northern Manitoba wrote to Indian Affairs, raising a number of concerns about the Cross Lake school, where, he said, the children were taught Cree. There is no copy of this letter, but it would appear the man wished to see the children taught English. It is clear from the government response that it opposed the teaching of Aboriginal languages in residential schools. On receipt of the letter, Bernard Neary, the Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training, informed the Cross Lake principal, "As English is the only authorized language in our Indian schools for all

province's ombudsman, Dr. Stephen Owen, to ensure that the Cree language was taught in the province's schools. Owen wrote to Chief Ahenakew, "I would be appreciative if we could have your comments concerning his statement about the Cree language."[114] In his response, Father G. E. Tinsdeau wrote that in the half-hour a day allotted for religious education, "we teach them their prayers in Cree which is their own language so they won't be at a loss to pray with their parents when they go back home. During this half hour we also teach them to read the Cree syllabic as written in their prayer books." At the same time, in class, the students were taught only in English. Indeed, he said, none of the classroom teachers could speak, let alone teach in, Cree.[115] For the churches, Aboriginal languages remained part of the missionary toolkit in a broader campaign to win not only Aboriginal children but also their parents to Christianity and away from traditional beliefs.

The commitment of a half-hour a day to religious instruction meant that the ongoing displacement of Aboriginal culture, including spirituality, was embedded in the school curriculum. In his memoirs, Stoney Chief John Snow tells of how at the Morley, Alberta, school, the "education consisted of nothing that had any relationship to our homes and culture. Indeed Stoney culture was condemned explicitly and implicitly."[116] He recalled being taught that the only good people on earth were non-Indians and specifically white Christians. "We were taught that the work and knowledge of our medicine men and women were of the Devil. We were taught that when people died they went to Heaven and walked streets paved with gold or to Hell and forever roasted in a lake of fire." Hide, he later observed, "was real indoctrination and some of the students dreaded going to church, but they were given no choice. There were confusing times for all of us when we were taught at home to respect the beliefs of our elders and at school to have disrespect for their values."[117]

School principals did not limit their opposition to Aboriginal culture to the classroom. In 1942, Gleichen, Alberta, principal John Hume became involved in a campaign to have two Blackfoot chiefs deposed, in part because of their support for traditional dance ceremonies. In one case, Chief Turned Up Nose had come into the school to see three girls who had not been allowed to leave the school on Saturday afternoons (as was the custom at the school) because they had misbehaved. According to the principal, Turned Up Nose "used insulting language to the supervisor and incited the girls to rebellion." In another case, Hume asked Chief Joe Crowfoot to give his son a "talking to" for "acting smart in front of a lady member of my staff." Instead, Crowfoot told Hume, "If you interfere with my boy, I'll beat you up." Hume said that the two had been "spreading the propaganda that it is not right to be ruled by the Government and that the Chiefs are supreme." When the principal had refused to allow students to attend an "Indian dance," Crowfoot came to the school and took his son to the dance. These activities were, Hume wrote, incidents "in a subversive movement that is likely to be very serious if it is not checked."[118] The Indian agent concurred with Hume's assessment and recommended that the chiefs be deposed.[119] Crowfoot protested,

saying that he was being singled out for criticizing the school for not properly feeding the students. Life on the reserve, he wrote, had come to resemble a concentration camp. "Even under any complaints, we Christ-still love our christianship."[111] In the end, the inspector of Indian agencies chose to warn the two chiefs that they risked being put out of office, but took no further action.[112]

In 1943, F. E. Anfield, the principal of the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school, was prompted by a recent Potlatch ceremony in the village of Kingcome to write a letter to the school's former pupils. He started with a reference to the ongoing world war, stating that should Hitler and Hirohito be victorious, "all races and tribes other than themselves shall be made slaves and serfs." He asked if Aboriginal "custom or 'potlatch' give you and your people freedom to work, laugh, and play or does it make you and your children slaves to debt, to unsatisfactory marriages, to poverty, poor health and bad living conditions." Although the letter was posed as a series of questions to which Anfield claimed not to know the answers, its underlying argument was that the Potlatch, and other traditions, constituted a barrier to progress. The family consisted of people who were that these practices understood the war effort, divided communities, [illegible] encouraged superstition, and led to impoverishment and family neglect.[113]

Mandatory religious instruction remained part of the curriculum into the 1960s. In 1949, for example, five of the nine Sunday hours at each school had one half hour of religious instruction each day, and the other four schools incorporated religious instruction into their daily activities. Attendance at Sunday church service was also compulsory. Forced attendance appears to have only alienated many students from the church: only 6 of 214 Saskatchewan residential students surveyed by the Canadian Welfare Council in 1966 made mention of religion when asked what their school experiences had taught them.[114]

Indian Affairs appears to have had no other policy on the use of language in the schools beyond its requirement that English and French were to be the only two languages of instruction and the only two languages to be taught in the schools. This policy deficiency is obvious in a 1951 Indian Affairs response to a request for information on government policy on the use of Aboriginal languages in its schools. Branch Director H. M. Jones wrote that the goal of the schools was to "make the Indian literate in the official language predominant in the area where the school is situated." This meant that outside Quebec, the language of instruction was English, and inside Quebec it depended on the dominant language of the region (this usually meant English in the Anglican schools and French in the Catholic schools). Textbooks and library books were supposed to be provided according to the practice of the provincial education department in which the schools were located. The policy was to teach English or French and to teach in English or French. The rest of Jones's answer, however, downplayed the value of teaching or learning Aboriginal languages. Jones noted that First Nations people accounted for less than 1% of the population—a figure he expected to

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

half the school day and vocational training for the other half. Although Indian Affairs generally recommended that schools follow such a system, there never was a formal government policy that described in detail how the system was to be implemented. In fact, the half-day system existed in contradiction to the general policy that schools were to adopt and follow the curriculum of the province in which they were situated. The provincial education curriculum required primary school students to spend half the week on vocational training. The policy of keeping older students out of the classroom for half of the school week contributed to one of the residential school system's major failings: the fact that students rarely made it to the highest grade offered in the school before they were old enough to drop out.

The half-day system not only stood as a barrier to Aboriginal children's achieving academic success, but it also seldom provided them with meaningful vocational training. It is clear from the record that rather than being given training that helped them develop employable skills, students spent their half-day doing repetitive chores that helped subsidize school operations.

For instance, a 1936 survey of the quality of food at schools in northwestern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan reported that, as part of their training, girls should be taught to peel potatoes by hand: "But to do this, it is not necessary to peel potatoes for 100 or more each day. In fact, other phases of training are thus neglected." The study recommended that schools be supplied with automatic potato peelers.[109] In 1948, H. S. Pitts, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, complained, "We feel that in an institution of this size a Potato Peeler is a necessity. There is a good deal of time 'wasted' in the very elementary 'lessons' of peeling 100 lbs of potatoes every morning—time that could better be used in teaching some better methods such as actual cooking."[110]

Indian Affairs was quite well aware of the fact that the schools were offering little in the way of real vocational training. The 1952 Indian Affairs annual report noted: "Difficulty has been experienced in securing teachers with the training necessary to provide worthwhile vocational instruction for boys."[111] In 1956, R. A. Hoey reported that although Indian Affairs had developed a vocational training program for these schools, "very few of our schools have either the classroom buildings or the equipment necessary to introduce this program."[112]

In a 1956 report, Indian Affairs official A. J. Hanson assessed the opportunities for vocational training being provided at a number of schools in northwestern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. In northwestern Ontario, he felt, "little organized training is taking place." The facilities were poorly equipped, making it difficult to recruit and retain qualified teachers. At the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school, the shop was in an old and unsatisfactory building. The Gamiam school lacked a suitable workshop. However, the Qu'Appelle school had a good shop facility, which they had renovated themselves. Hanson thought that a garage located near the Portage la Prairie school

in Manitoba could be converted into a suitable facility, and he considered the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, workshop, which had been remodelled by the students, to be in good shape. In addition, however, Doucet noted that the "instructors have no training for this work."[139]

In 1947, John House, the principal of the Gleichen, Alberta, school, complained that Indian Affairs had recently come to the conclusion that

> vocational training was more important to Indians than academic work, and so complete courses in woodwork, metal work, tinsmithing, leather work, dairying, dressmaking, household science, cooking, goat keeping and several others were thrust upon us. These were put on a compulsory basis and monthly reports concerning them were to be sent to the Department. It would take a staff of about thirty to handle the technical instruction and executive work to teach all these things and no Canadian technical or public school has ever attempted such an ambitious programme.

He said that the policy would lead to a decline in the emphasis on academic work, resulting complaints from parents that they wanted their children to be in the "classroom all the time like white children."[140]

In 1957, vocational training at residential schools that Indian Affairs operated in southern Canada remained limited. Of the sixty-six schools:

- forty-nine had courses in home economics (cooking, sewing, housekeeping)
- forty-seven taught woodworking
- twenty-five taught sheet-metal work
- twenty-one taught motor mechanics
- eleven taught welding
- four taught shoe repair
- three taught home and farm mechanics

Woodworking was the only vocational training given at more than half the schools.[141] The Canadian Welfare Council's 1967 report on nine residential schools in Saskatchewan observed, "The program of study is academic with no vocational training except that woodworking and domestic science classes are scheduled for the older boys and girls a half day a week."[142]

In 1940, British Columbia school inspector G. H. Barry wrote that it appeared to him that the nine girls at the Lytton, British Columbia, school who were taking home economics were not getting any academic training. He complained that "even though Indian children are most anxious to have at least a minimum time in the actual class room," the principal excluded the older students from class. "Again and again," wrote Barry, "I have heard the complaint that the school room work was denied to the child and therefore they did not wish to remain in school. On occasion a child runs away for the reasons outlined here."[143]

Parents objected to the fact that their children were being overworked. When a Mounted Police officer tracked down Wilfred Deiter, a runaway from the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school in 1940, his father said he did not want the boy to return to school. According to the father, Wilfred "gets no class work, he is doing outside work, such as hauling hay, cutting wood, and general labouring." He felt that his son was "receiving no better education than he would receive at home."[149]

At a 1946 meeting of the Council of the Stony Indian Agency, band members presented a lengthy list of reasons why over forty children had not been placed in school. The central reason related to the amount of work the students were required to do and the limited amount of time they spent in the classroom. It was reported to the meeting that when one boy asked a school staff member, "How much money am I getting for working half days doing chores at the school?" he was told, "You get nothing. You are working for your clothes." When asked by a band member if she was getting a good education at the Morley school, a girl had answered, "We older girls have never been in the class rooms for two years." One father said that after eight years at the school, one of his daughters had spent her final years in the school doing chores. He said he was reluctant to send his eight-year-old son to the school, fearing that "when he is old enough he will be made to do chores when he should be doing school work like the white children."[150] These concerns were corroborated by the local inspector of Indian agencies, G. H. Gooderham, who wrote, "There are no teachers; the class-room work is very sketchy, as the Principal and Matron have to do this in addition to their other duties."[151]

The rural labour shortage created by wartime enlistment in the 1940s presented older residential students with employment opportunities. Many of them felt that if they were going to be forced to spend their day doing farm work, they might as well be paid. The mother of one of the boys who ran away from Mount Elgin, Ontario, in the spring of 1943 asked that her son be discharged when he was located. She said, "Each time he has run away and when they got him back the principal of the School gives him a big beating up but he says that will not make him stay." The last time she saw him, he told her "he would rather leave school or work on a farm."[152] Indian Affairs wanted the boy discharged, but Mount Elgin principal Oliver Strapp thought the government should prosecute farmers who hired runaways for employing underage boys.[153] Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey rejected the idea.[154] The situation at Mount Elgin had reached a crisis point by the fall of 1944. According to Strapp's successor, S. H. Soper, the farm work was falling on the shoulders of a dwindling number of students, most of whom were under twelve. He wrote that with the help of "one sixteen year old boy and seven 9, 10, and 11 years," the school had harvested 160 tons of hay, 500 bushels of oats, 350 bushels of wheat, and 200 bushels of barley. The same students had also been caring for fifty-five head of cattle and forty hogs. There were only sixty-five students in total—with only one new student recruited that year. The school,

he wrote, needed 120 students to succeed financially. Soper pleaded, "We must have more students and we must have more twelve to seventeen year old students."[155] Hoey, however, held out no hope for any increase in enrolment until the end of the war.[156] The Survey of Indian Education on Reserves in Western Ontario noted that at residential schools, "the pupils who are able to do the work on the farm and in the house are required to do more work than should be required." The problem was exacerbated by the young age of most of the students.[157]

Work was not only onerous, but it also continued to be dangerous. The 1946 report of the Anglican Church's Indian Work Investigation Commission into the condition of residential schools recognized this.

> A physician associated with the Indian Department says he does not think it reasonable or wise that the pupils should be expected to assume all the heavy tasks which are incidental to the administration of a relatively large institution and at the same time to carry on their studies in a language which is not their own, in fact he considers this state of affairs to be a definite health-hazard.

The Anglicans recommended that the students "should be relieved of heavy work. The hours of labour in many schools should be at once reduced, and the hours of study and recreation increased."[158]

The system remained in place for at least another half-decade. The risk to student health was quite real during that period. At the Brandon school, a twelve-year-old boy, who was working in the barn, lost all the fingers on one hand when it was caught in a pulley used to raise hay into the hayloft. In reporting the accident, Principal R. T. Chapin stressed that the boy, Kenneth Smith, "was apparently playing with the running rope." Details of the accident, which occurred on July 10, 1941, were not reported to Indian Affairs until September 10 of that year.[159]

In 1942, Indian Affairs received a $350 bill for the hospital treatment of Christine Nichols (also given as Christina Nicholas), who had been hospitalized after an injury she sustained while working in the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school laundry. Since he had not been informed of the accident, R. A. Hoey was surprised by the bill.[160] In response to Hoey's request for a full report, Shubenacadie principal J. P. Mackey explained that the girl had been warming her hands on a mangle (a machine that used heated rollers to press clothing) on a cold morning in December of the previous year, and one of her hands had become caught in the machine. She did not return from the hospital until April 1942, "with the hand bandaged, and the fingers still quite stiff and bent towards the palm of the hand." According to Mackey, by the end of May, she was "able to take a grip with the hand." Mackey, who rarely let pass an opportunity to complain about what he perceived to be the laziness of First Nations people, added, "While she was at the hospital we heard about the Doctors being quite annoyed because she

would not exercise the hand, and also that a certain amount of experimentation was being tried out. All this is just hearsay, so take it that way."[161]

On April 16, 1949, fifteen-year-old Rodney Beardy was one of four boys who were returning from the Brandon school farm for the noon meal. They were riding on a tractor that was being driven by a fifteen-year-old student. As it came down a hill, Beardy, who was riding on the left fender, fell off and was run over by the left rear wheel. He was dead by the time the school staff could be summoned.[162] The secretary of Indian Affairs, T. R. L. MacInnes, wrote that "it seems to me that great care should be taken by the residential school authorities to see that young boys are not exposed to accidents through operating machinery of this kind."[163]

Two boys from the Birtle, Manitoba, school were injured in a truck accident in 1942. From Indian Affairs correspondence, it appears that the accident involved a truck carrying seventy boys who were being taken from the school to the fields to do farm work. Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey criticized the principal for allowing the practice to take place, noting that "it is almost unbelievable that the principal should permit 70 pupils to be conveyed in a truck."[164]

A student at the Edmonton, Alberta, school, George Breast, lost a foot in 1944 after an accident during the operation of an ensilage cutter (a machine used in the preparation of fodder).[165] In 1953, Marlene Milliken had to be treated in hospital after she was injured while operating the manual bread cutter at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario.[166]

The overreliance on the work of residential school students continued into the 1950s. Inspector C. A. F. Clark concluded that the 1949–50 school year at the Brandon, Manitoba, school had started badly. During the opening weeks, he said, the "accent should be on fun and games." Instead, Principal Oliver Strapp had commenced the half-day system immediately. By October, there still had not been any movies shown at the school and physical education would not start until after Thanksgiving.[167] In 1952, the Grade Five through Grade Seven boys at the Brandon school were working four half-days a week at manual labour while the girls in grades Four through Seven were spending four half-days a week performing domestic labour. Philip Phelan, the superintendent of education for Indian Affairs, informed Strapp that he thought this to be "an unreasonably high percentage of the pupils' time," particularly since most residential schools had abandoned the half-day system.[168] Strapp responded that the school was economically dependent on the farm. In an effort to reduce student labour, he had been investing in farm technology. He pointed out that a functioning farm was essential, given the government's small per capita grant. If the government wished to see farm work discontinued, all it needed to do, he wrote, was to increase the grant.[169]

In 1952, Phelan wrote to the Alberta regional inspector of Indian schools, L. G. P. Waller, for information on the amount of work being done by students at the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta. The issue had been raised by parents at a recent meeting,

but Phelan said the department could not take action "without specific information as to the amount of time which pupils lose from classroom work, and the age and grade placement of these pupils." The statement is, in effect, an admission that Indian Affairs had no policy on the issue, and was not tracking how much work students were being obliged to do.[170] Waller replied that while there were numerous examples of overwork at the Anglican school at Cardston, he thought it best to "attack the principle on which the system is based rather than point out the horrible examples." He noted that he believed that Principal Pitts's approach was somewhat similar to the infamous "Dotheboys Hall" in Charles Dickens's novel *Nicholas Nickleby*. According to Waller, at Cardston,

> All children from Grade III up perform farm and domestic duties daily outside of classroom instruction time, and each child in Grade III–VIII spends two half days of school instruction time at these same chores.
>
> Daily chores begin at 6:45 a.m. for the boys with the milking of the dairy herd of 12 cows, feeding of pigs and chickens. The girls do the domestic chores in the kitchen and dormitories.

Of particular concern to Waller was the fact that

> individuals or groups are assigned to each member of the staff for the daily chores, so that the staff members become supervisors and the children do the work. The engineer has boys to shovel and stoke; the farm assistant supervises the milking, feeding and stable work, the matron oversees the girls' housework, etc. School children are employed as domestic servants of the staff. Endless jobs are found for them to do. The work of the institution is so organized as to keep every child busy every day. The laundry work, for instance, is spread over the entire week instead of being cleaned up on Monday.[171]

By 1952, government officials were encouraging principals to abandon the half-day system. In that year, Inspector G. H. Marcoux wrote of the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school that the "half-day system is still being followed for the higher grades (VI to VIII). We are expecting these pupils to cover the same course as the white pupils in half the time. I strongly recommend the system be abolished." Philip Phelan agreed, and instructed Manitoba Indian Affairs official R. S. Davis to speak to the school principal about discontinuing the practice.[172] That same month, Marcoux reported that at the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school, the half-day system was being replaced by one in which older students would "miss half a day every seven school days."[173]

In January 1953, Indian Affairs developed a set of residential school regulations that included a provision that "every pupil in a residential school shall receive classroom instruction for the number of hours weekly as required by curriculum."[174] This policy was both a tacit recognition of the fact that, in the past, students had not been

spending enough time in the classroom and, in effect, an instruction not to use the half-day system.

Ending the half-day system would, however, require additional resources. Not only would the schools need more funding to make up for the loss in student labour, but they would also need more classrooms and more teachers.[175] One Indian Affairs official described the termination of the half-day system as the switch from "the industrial school system to the provincial school system"—a switch that left "classroom accommodation at the Edmonton Residential school ... inadequate." Indian Affairs was able to postpone building new classrooms by having students educated at a local public school.[176]

Just because students were now mandated to spend a full day in class does not mean that they were not still put to work at the schools. A 1956 federal report on First Nations education in Canada reported that at residential schools, the

> practice is to assign chores to the boys and domestic duties to the girls. This though it may be necessary in the operation of the institution, is not directly related to the educational activity. The end result is that these domestic duties and chores become burdensome and breed a dislike for work rather than a wholesome respect for it.

The report also stated that vocational training was often relegated to basements and outbuildings. This did little, the authors of the report felt, "to establish an academic prestige to these branches of instruction or to elicit much interest or response from the pupils."[177]

In 1957, K. Kingwell, the principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, public school, complained that students from the Lytton residence who were attending his school were having trouble keeping up academically. He attributed the problem to the chores that the students were required to do before and after school. He asked an Indian Affairs official, "How well would you do in your studies if you rolled out of bed at 5:00 a.m. in the morning and did heavy labour until 7:30 or 8:00 then went to school until 3:30 p.m. and back again to your chores and supper from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m.?"[178]

After Sam Ross ran away from the Birtle, Manitoba, school in 1959, he told Indian Affairs official J. R. Bell that he wanted to continue his education, but had been forced to work "too hard" at the Birtle school. He said that from September to Christmas of the previous year, he had worked in the school barn every day between "6:00 A.M. and 7:00 A.M. and from 8:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. again at recess, from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. and had had to stoke up the furnace with coal at 10:00 o'clock before retiring." Ross said "he liked school but not working like a hired hand." He had been first in his Grade Nine class at Christmas with an average of 78.8. Bell recommended that the amount of student labour being done at the Birtle school should be investigated.[179]

Bell raised the issue again in October when another boy from The Pas Agency ran away from the Birtle school. Fred Nasecapow said that he had run away because he had not gone "to school to become a farm hand." In addition to school work, he said, he did three hours a day of work on the farm. In reporting on the case, Bell observed that in northern Manitoba, Nasecapow was seen to be a "conscientious and reliable worker."[135]

Examples of student labour continued to arise. In 1963, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Kenora decided to take several fifteen-year-old girls, who, he believed, had no academic future, out of class and use them as assistants in the school. The department had to step in, since provincial regulations required children to attend school until they reached the age of sixteen.[136] In 1975, the Mission, British Columbia, residence had begun using older students to do kitchen work, office work, and supervision of younger students. Unlike in the past, these students were paid for their labour. But the reason why the residence had to turn to students was long-standing: the wages the residence was offering were too low to attract anyone else.[137]

Classroom life

Given that there were hundreds of teachers working in classrooms across the country for over a century, it is difficult to generalize about classroom experiences throughout the system. The student reports of their educational experiences are described in detail elsewhere in this report. It is important to recognize that many students, both in memoirs and in statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, have spoken positively about the impact that specific teachers had on their lives.

In her memoirs, Jane Willis had kind words for the vice-principal at the public school in Sault Ste. Marie that she attended when she lived at the Shingwauk Institute. When she enrolled in the school, Vice-Principal Weir told her that he wanted her to look upon him as a friend. "I did not believe a word he was saying, of course, but, during the years I spent there, he proved that he was sincerely interested in helping me. He encouraged me whenever I felt like quitting. Nobody at the Indian school had taken such an active interest in me and I came to look upon him as my second grandfather."[138]

Many years after she left the Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia, Rita Joe, who, as an adult, won national recognition for her poetry, went to visit one of her former teachers; they hugged and cried. She said of the meeting, "It was true that many negative things occurred, but there was also a lot of good that happened."[139]

However, it is clear that hostile attitudes, low expectations, and excessive regimentation all worked to undermine the schools' educational mission. In 1965, Philip Phelan, the chief of the Indian Affairs Training Division, drew attention to the

Hobbema school's poor educational record. In a letter to the principal, he pointed to several boys who were only in Grade Three after four years in the school. One had only reached Grade One after three years, and, after ten years in the school, another was only in Grade Five. "Any pupil," he wrote, "who requires ten years to cover five grades will certainly be discouraged."[137] Two years later, the Hobbema principal, Gérard Laboucane, provided the following description of educational progress at the school during the previous year.

> It is pretty hard to give anything precise, since there are so many impediments to prevent the children from being really in the mood either to learn anything. In general, it is quite low, though they are rather slow in acquiring the habit of speaking English among themselves. And without practice, they will never know it so as to speak it fluently.
>
> The girls learn better and faster than the boys. Boys, in general, when reaching the age of 13 and 14, become kind of lazy, indifferent, even hostile, and the classroom is definitely a non-sense for them. It is the only reason why I send them half a day outside.

He thought the girls were making good progress in vocational training, learning such domestic skills as cooking, sewing, and knitting. The boys, however, he said, did not want to learn. Some of them ran away with the horses. "We have to punish the children for one reason or the other, the parents are taking their children without reasons." He had budgeted $350 per month in total for fifteen members of female religious orders on staff, five of whom were teachers. One of the teachers had a high school certificate and a diploma from Laval University in Montréal. Three others were finishing Grade Ten by correspondence courses. The annual report did not provide information on the educational attainment of the fifth teacher, who was assigned the "baby grade."[138] The parents objected to Laboucane's treatment of their children, writing to a senior Oblate official that they wanted him replaced. "He doesn't like an Indians. He is not friendly with anyone of us and he makes lots of different rules in this School that displeases the parents."[139]

At the Hobbema school in December 1964, nineteen years after Phelan had raised the issue of the lack of academic success at the school, R. F. Davey, the Indian Affairs assistant director of education, asked why it appeared that over 60% of the students in Grade Six at the school had dropped out at the end of the previous school year.[140] An inquiry indicated that in reality, forty-four of the eighty-six students in Grade Six had been promoted to Grade Seven. Of the others, only thirteen had left school. The inspector noted, "The successful promotion of 44 out of 82 [he used the figure 82 rather than 86 because there was uncertainty as to status of four of the students] is, of course, far below what would be considered tolerable in any provincial school system." The poor performance was attributed in part to an epidemic of diphtheria that had hit the

school the previous year and in part to the "practice of making 'social promotions' from Grade II to Grade VI at this school, followed by a drastic assessment of individual progress at the end of Grade VI, with the result that only those who appear to be promising material are permitted and encouraged to attempt Grade VII." Hopes for future improvements were placed on the new principal and senior teachers, who were "much more aware of fundamental educational (as compared to religious) problems and issues than were their predecessors."[135]

A June 1964 Promotion Sheet for the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school painted a grim picture of official attitudes. Of thirty-two Grade Seven and Grade Eight students, the teacher had assessed five as lacking ability, while others were "slow," "very slow," "not too bright," "emotionally upset," "too unstable to achieve much," had an "unsettled home life," had "difficulty in math," did "not apply himself" were "not working to capacity," were "unwilling to work," lacked "a good foundation" or had "spent 3 yrs. in gr. 1." On the positive side, one had a "good average," one had "promise of improving" one was "capable," one was "average," one was "ambitious," one was "the most capable in the class," and one was noted to work so hard that "she may succeed" despite being "not capable" and "slow."[136]

Richard King, who taught at the Cariboo school in the Yukon in the early 1960s, thought the regimented nature of school life destroyed the students' interest in learning. He observed that when students were in their early years at residential school, "they feel themselves learning." However, "By the time the children are in their third year at school, they simply prefer routine as the simplest way of coping with life. The spark of learning for learning's sake is gone, replaced by a programmatic gamesmanship." Students knew and resented the fact that they were being controlled and devised strategies to frustrate those who sought to control them.[137]

In his memoirs, Harold Cardinal wrote,

> Any initiative a young Indian might have had when he started through the church-school system was beaten out of him before he finished. Rules and regulations counted for everything and discipline was severe. Such an environment conditioned the student to act only under strictly controlled circumstances. When he left the institution he was unable to function in an environment where initiative was needed to guarantee survival.[138]

Of his time at Fort Providence in the Northwest Territories, Albert Canadien recalled that religious training was given pride of place, to the point that he concluded, "Unless actual education came second."[139] In particular, he realized that he had never been encouraged to question or challenge anything.[140] According to Alice Blondin-Perrin, one supervisor at Fort Resolution (also in the Northwest Territories) "seemed intent on killing my culture and self-worth. In response, I became snobbish. Yet when I felt the coolness of her authority, in front of other nuns and priests, I became the gentlest little girl. I learned to please the ones I liked. I learned to manipulate them, and

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CHAPTER 34

The schools as child-welfare institutions: 1940–2000

In a private conversation, a former British Columbia social worker once referred to the practice by which First Nations children were taken into custody by child-welfare agencies in her province as the "Sixties Scoop." That term has come to stand for the process by which provincial child-welfare agencies took an ever-larger percentage of the Aboriginal population into custody in the 1960s and into the 1970s. By 1980, 4.6% of all First Nations children were in care; the comparable figure for the general population was 0.96%.[1]

The taking of so many Aboriginal children into provincial care in this period is seen as the product of a number of political, social, and economic events, one of the most significant being the extension of the authority of provincial and private child-welfare agencies over Aboriginal people.

The reality is that residential schools had been used as child-welfare facilities from the outset of the system. Writing in 1883, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald predicted that until parents overcame their opposition to industrial schools, enrolment would depend largely on "orphans and children who have no natural protectors."[2] The regulations adopted under the *Indian Act* amendments of 1894 authorized Indian agents and justices of the peace to commit any "Indian child between six and sixteen years of age that is not being properly cared for or educated" to a residential school. In Manitoba and the North-West Territories (which at that time still included Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the North), such an order could be issued without the need to give any notice to the "parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of such child."[3] The influenza epidemic that followed the end of the First World War had killed so many Aboriginal adults that in 1919, Indian Affairs decreed that "no children, whose parents are alive should be admitted to residential schools, unless under very exceptional circumstances, as long as there are orphans of this class to fill the vacancies."[4] From the 1930s onwards, residential schools increasingly served as orphanages and child-welfare facilities. By 1960, the federal government estimated that 50% of the children in residential schools were there for child-welfare reasons. The 1960s Scoop

was in some measure simply a transferring of children from one form of institutional care, the residential school, to another, the child-welfare agency.[5]

The schools were not funded or staffed to function as child-welfare institutions. They failed to provide their students with the appropriate level of personal and emotional care children need during their childhood and adolescence. This failure applied to all students, but was of particular significance in the case of the growing number of social-welfare placements in the school. The routine of the institution was never intended to meet the personal and emotional needs of students, but, instead, to maintain overall order and discipline. For the children whose parents were not able to provide them with a safe and loving home environment, the residential school environment did not prove to be a safer or more loving haven. Children who had to stay in the schools year-round because there was no safe home to be returned to spent their entire childhoods in an institution where they grew up unloved. This is a point that recurs in countless Survivor statements and in residential school memoirs. Basil Johnston, who attended the Spanish, Ontario, school in the 1940s, wrote: "Most of the boys were already hurt; they were orphans, waifs, cast-offs, exiles from family and home, who needed less of a heavy hand, a heavy foot, heavy words, and more of affection, approbation, companionship, praise, guidance, trust, laughter, regard, love, tenderness."[6]

Elise Charland, who attended residential schools in Saskatchewan and Alberta in the 1940s and 1950s, recalled: "There was no one there to help us, to love us, to take us in their arms and take the hurt and tears away. That loneliness was unbearable. No one cared whether we lived or died."[7]

In such an atmosphere, small kindnesses and caring staff members were long remembered.[8]

Admissions policies were haphazard and poorly enforced, and children became warehoused in residential schools because there was no other place for them. As early as 1940, Indian Affairs education official R. A. Hoey had concluded that although residential schools had limited "efficiency" as educational institutions, they were likely to continue to be needed to house "Indian orphan children and children neglected by their parents and indeed children from homes where conditions are such that a child, unless removed to a residential school, has little chance of surviving."[9] The 1944 "Survey of Indian Education on Reserves in Western Ontario," by an inspector of public schools in Ontario, noted that although residential schools had been planned as vocational institutes, they were now being used as "orphanages or children's shelters," in which the "young children tend to be neglected for part of the day."[10] Due to a growing number of "Indian orphans or children from broken homes," as early as 1947, the Anglican Church said that many residential schools were having to care for "a number of very young children."[11] In short, by the beginning of the 1940s, one of the main purposes of Canada's residential school system was to serve as child-welfare institutions.

The government was also given warning that the schools were not up to the task. The inadequacy of the schools as child-welfare institutions had been drawn to the attention of Indian Affairs as early as 1947. In their brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers urged "the abandonment of the policy of caring for neglected and delinquent children in educational institutions. These children require very special treatment and we suggest utilization of recognized child welfare services."[12]

There were several interconnected factors in the increase in the number of Aboriginal children placed in residential schools and, in later years, in the custody of child-welfare agencies. One of the most significant was the decline of the Aboriginal economy in the post-war years. On the Canadian Prairies, for example, agriculture became much more capital-intensive. It was difficult for any farmer to succeed without access to sufficient credit to allow for investments in increasingly expensive farm machinery. Most First Nations farmers, because they did not hold title to their land, had little access to credit. As late as the 1960s, Indian Affairs farm-loan programs were capped at $500. Under these conditions, successful reserve-based farmers found it impossible to compete economically. Many of the Aboriginal people who had worked as farm labourers for non-Aboriginal farmers lost their jobs to mechanization. One of the few economic activities open to Aboriginal people on the Prairies during this period was as a migrant labourer.[13]

A 1963 assessment of the Sandy Bay Reserve in Manitoba made the following observations: people from the reserve sought work off-reserve at fish camps, on farms, harvesting Seneca root, and on railway-track gangs. In addition, in the spring, many residents travelled to the United States in search of work, generally returning in October. To pursue these limited opportunities, the parents had to leave their children in residential school—even if there was a day school in their home community. An Indian Affairs official lamented this practice, saying that the presence of a residential school on the Sandy Bay Reserve had fostered "feelings of dependence on government for the care and upbringing of children."[14] In northern regions of the prairie provinces, falling fur prices had a similar effect on the Aboriginal economy, while racism and lack of training served as barriers to new jobs in the mining and forestry industries.[15]

The 1966 *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (commonly known as the "Hawthorn Report") included employment statistics on the members of thirty-five First Nations. In only one case was the per capita income more than $1,000 per year. On twelve reserves, the per capita income was less than $200 per year.[16] The poor housing and limited diet associated with such levels of poverty led to children being taken from their parents.

In 1959, J. H. Gordon, the chief of the welfare division of Indian Affairs, noted that "many children may be improperly in residential school on the grounds of 'broken

homes.' In some cases these broken homes or poor homes may merely require more adequate welfare assistance in order that they may maintain minimum standards."[17] In May 1969, three children were attending the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, residence solely because their mother did not have adequate accommodation for them. Indian Affairs official G. T. Ross instructed local departmental staff to "attempt to arrange satisfactory accommodation for the entire family."[18] Despite this instruction, two of the boys ended up attending the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school in the next school year.[19]

There were exceptions to the patterns of the continued impoverishment of Aboriginal communities. A number of First Nations had developed specific, well-paying, niches in the labour market. Most prominent of these were the high-steel workers from Québec and southern Ontario, and the west-coast loggers, longshore workers, and fishers.[20] But these, it must be stressed, were exceptions. The federal government's policy of isolating Aboriginal people on reserves had left them as onlookers during a period of extended economic growth.

The extension of provincial child-welfare services to Aboriginal people necessarily meant non-Aboriginal people made judgments about Aboriginal child-rearing practices. These could involve an overemphasis and reliance on an exclusive role of parents, ignoring the role that the extended Aboriginal family played in raising and educating children, and providing substitute care. Similarly, these judgments could view the traditional respect for a child's autonomy—and a preference to let a child learn by example—as being lax parenting. Informal adoption practices could be viewed as inappropriate by those implementing a rule-bound system. The language of child-welfare legislation is open to cultural interpretation: living conditions that might be judged "unfit" or "improper" in urban Canada might well be the norm in a remote community.[21]

The residential schools themselves contributed to the increase in the number of Aboriginal children being taken into care. By 1940, the schools had been operating in much of the country for over sixty years. This disrupted traditional Aboriginal family life and Aboriginal communities. Many children were being raised by parents who had spent at least a part of their own childhoods in residential school, where their culture, families, and community had been systematically devalued. Parents complained that those who returned from the schools had little respect for their elders.[22] As well, they often did not have the skills to survive economically on the reserve. Annie Neeposh Iserhoff grew up in her Cree family in the James Bay area of Québec and attended residential schools in both Ontario and Québec. She recalled the low regard in which parents held students who had returned from residential school.

> The students were being criticized that they didn't know how to work. The boys didn't know how to pitch a tent, how to set up nets, or how to hunt. The girls were being told that they couldn't handle women's work, such as getting boughs

> for the tent floor, washing clothes as fast as the bush women, chopping wood, or lugging pails of water. Soon we were referred to as the lazy school kids.[23]

At the same time that the schools were undermining the traditional economy, they were not giving their students the training to compete in an industrializing economy. As noted in the previous chapter, only half of the residential school students were making their way through elementary school in the 1950s.

Indian agents as social workers

Even though large numbers of children were being placed in residential schools for what would be termed "child-welfare reasons," these decisions were not, for much of this period, being made by people trained as child-welfare professionals. In the 1940s, provincial child-welfare agencies did not operate on reserves and had few dealings with Aboriginal people.[24] Up until the 1960s, the decision to send a child to a residential school for child-welfare reasons was usually made by the Indian agent. Many years after she attended the Edmonton school, Rosa Bell asked her mother why she had been sent away. She was told:

> Your dad was very sick and I couldn't take care of all of you. I couldn't support all of you. The Indian Agent told me to send some of you kids to residential school. The Agent told me they would take good care of you. He picked out which of the children would go. I didn't have any choice or say in the matter.[25]

The same process was followed across the country. Indian agent Harper Reed decided to send a six-year-old boy to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school in February 1940. In Reed's opinion, the boy's father had lost all energy after the death of his wife. Once the boy was sent to school, the agent denied the father any financial assistance, telling him to "get out of town and earn some revenue by trapping."[26] When, in 1941, the Fort Providence school in the Northwest Territories had recruited only forty-five students, fifteen less than its authorized enrolment of sixty, Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey urged the local Indian agent to have the Mounted Police help "in securing additional pupils. There must be several orphans and abandoned children for whom institutional care is desirable."[27]

In 1943, Indian agent F. W. Tuffnell sought to place two children, aged six and seven, in the Muncey, Ontario, school. Their mother had gone "away with another man" and left the children with their father, who was "sickly and unable to care for them."[28] In 1948, J. V. Boys was recommending the admission of two children to the Fraser Lake school. One had been "living with various families since the death of her mother. Home conditions have been most unsatisfactory." In the second case, the boy's father

"has been working in lumber camps away from the reserve, at points where there were no school facilities."[29]

Indian agents also determined if and when children were to be discharged. In 1943, the principal of the McIntosh, Ontario, school received permission from the federal government to keep a student at the school past the age of discharge. The principal said he would not put her out to work, describing her as the "poor illegitimate child of an abused young girl she would surely follow her mother's past judging by her attitude and disposition." The principal's hope was to have her choose a husband while at the school.[30] Three months later, the principal was allowed to keep two over-age orphan girls at the school until they found work.[31]

In 1949, a father attempted to take two of his children out of the Fraser Lake school, saying that they would attend a day school in Smithers, British Columbia. The principal allowed him to withdraw his son, but kept his daughter, saying he would not discharge her without the approval of the Indian agent.[32] The agent, J. V. Boys, rejected the request, saying he regretted the decision to discharge the boy. "Most of the children sent from this agency are sent because of poor home environment," he wrote, adding that the home of these children was no exception. He described the father as "lazy and a drunkard," and concluded that if the children were to have any success in life, it would be through being "educated in the residential schools."[33]

As the previous example indicates, a great deal of official correspondence about Aboriginal children reveals both a disdain for Aboriginal parents and a belief that their views could be disregarded. When passing on a father's complaint that his son was spending too much of his time doing work for the school, a Mounted Police officer noted in 1940 that "Indians are fond of making complaints of frivolous nature."[34] Mounted Police officer A. H. Langille's overall view of Aboriginal people was apparent when he described the father of one student as being "above the average as an Indian."[35] In 1950, Old Sun's, Alberta, school principal E. S. W. Cole wrote:

> When the stampedes are in full swing the Blackfoot Indian is happy, he is happy and grumbles not at all; but during the winter when time hangs heavily on his hands because, through no fault of his own, he cannot fish, trap or cut cord wood, he is inclined to meditate over his troubles, real or imaginary, and enventually [sic] convinces himself that he had a grouch.[36]

In the fall of 1960, Mike Legarde and his wife arranged to have their two sons attend the Fort William, Ontario, school. However, they did not return the children to the school after the Christmas break. They told an Indian Affairs official who was sent to investigate the situation that their children "came back with black eyes and came back with old clothes." Indian Affairs sent a letter to Legarde, informing him that his children were "now in the care of the Minister [responsible for Indian Affairs] and that the children should return to residential school." Legarde said he would not return them

"even if the police were sent."[37] Indian Affairs official F. Matters said that "we need not give much attention to Mr. Legarde's remarks describing the condition in which his children returned from the residential school." Since the boys were not attending a day school, he recommended that the case be handed over to a probation officer and the local child-welfare agency.[38] The result of the case is uncertain, although the Legarde children's names do show up on a list of students who had been re-enrolled in the Fort William school the following summer.[39]

This was a child-welfare system that viewed parents with distrust, disdain, and hostility.

Schools as detention facilities

The schools had never been staffed or funded to serve as child-welfare facilities. Increasingly, schools were housing children whose needs they could not begin to address. In the 1940s at Kuper Island, British Columbia, Principal I. Camirand objected to the government policy of sending to the school "problem pupils and 'undesirables'" in the hope that "segregation on an island will prove to be the 'cure-all.'" Instead, these students constituted the bulk of the school's truancy problem. Camirand said he could see no value in imposing too rigorous a discipline on the students, since such treatment only encouraged them to run away. He had not rounded up the latest group of truants, since he had had no time and the police were not "disposed to cooperate." Furthermore, he did not wish to appear in court to lay a charge against the parents.[40]

British Columbia Indian agent R. H. Moore attempted in 1946 to have a twelve-year-old boy, whose father was dead and whose mother was in jail in the United States, admitted to the Kuper Island school. The principal objected, saying the boy had been at the school before and had tried on several occasions to run away. The agent said that if the principal did not accept the boy, he would have to be sent to the British Columbia Boys Industrial School (a school for 'incorrigible youth').[41] In 1947, Indian Affairs arranged to have several boys from Smithers, British Columbia, who had been convicted of theft, sent to the Fraser Lake residential school rather than to the Boys Industrial School. The local Indian agent had recommended this course of action, saying that boys who were sent to the industrial school generally emerged "much worse for the experience."[42]

In June 1950, after the father of two children said he was not able to control them or enforce their attendance at the day school in Whitehorse, Indian Affairs official R. F. Meek sought to have the children admitted to the Carcross, Yukon, school.[43] That same year, an Indian Affairs official sought to transfer two brothers, who were described as being "entirely out of control, both at home and at Mohawk Institute [sic]," to the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. The boys, upon hearing of the proposed

transfer, threatened to run away from Shingwauk, just as they had from the Mohawk Institute.[31] Despite this, the boys were transferred to the Shingwauk Home.[32] In 1958, a girl from the Peguis Band in Manitoba was enrolled in the Portage la Prairie school because she had become "a truancy problem and the mother, a widow, is unable to cope with the girl." She was viewed as a good student who could go on to high school if she were "subject to discipline."[33]

Sometimes, Indian Affairs used the schools as an alternative to jail. Indian Affairs recommended that a girl not be returned home from the Fraser Lake school during the summer of 1960 because she was facing prosecution for breaking and entering. Keeping her in school, it was thought, would keep her out of the courts.[34] In 1963, two girls who had been suspended from the public school in Glen Avon, Alberta, for their behaviour were going to be brought to court as "juvenile offender[s]." The court proceedings were dropped when their parents agreed to send them to the Wabasca, Alberta, Anglican residential school. A social worker in each case stated, "A new environment could save this child."[35]

In April 1960, André Renaud, general director of the Oblate Fathers Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, worried that Indian Affairs officials were "using residential schools as correction institutions. I am referring to the enrolment of pupils and students who, in the schools where they were originally enrolled are proving to be misfits and incipient juvenile delinquents." He said that when these cases were brought to the attention of local Indian Affairs officials, usually by social workers, school principals, or the courts, the students were sent to "residential schools, sometimes without even notifying the principal as to the background."[36]

The problems children brought with them could be very serious. In 1963, a boy from Fort Smith in the Northwest Territories was placed in the Alberta Provincial Mental Institution for observation after he had shot and wounded his father in the stomach. At the time of the shooting, the father had been beating the boy. At the hospital, he had been judged to be "normal," but it was thought he should not be returned to his home.[37] Upon his release, he was sent to the Desmarais, Alberta, school.[38]

In 1964, a fifteen-year-old girl, who had been repeatedly absent from the Hobbema, Alberta, day school, was placed in a children's centre. From there, after a suicide attempt, she was taken to juvenile court, where the judge recommended that she be placed in the Hobbema residential school. Her father was a widower who had been judged to be "unable to make a home for her."[39]

In some cases, principals sought to discharge students who were disciplinary problems. Many of those children ended up in the child-welfare system. In 1960, the principal of the Shingwauk Home sought permission to discharge a fourteen-year-old boy for repeatedly beating younger boys.[40] A school staff member protested the decision, arguing that the principal was dealing with the boy unfairly. While Indian Affairs official F. Matters accepted the principal's rationale for discharging the boy, he noted,

"We have had more children discharged from your school during this last year or two as being unmanageable [sic] than from any other. I might add that some of those who were discharged have been fairly successful in North Bay where they live in private homes and are subject to comparatively little control."[35]

Father G. Leflèra, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, sought to discharge four boys who had run away in January 1968. One of them had assaulted a teacher and the school's night watchman. Leflèra had turned his case over to the police. Another boy was developing into an aggressive fighter, the third was "a moral cancer for the other boys," and the last was in need of the experience of "begging for food and shelter for two or three weeks to bring him back to his senses." His principal lamented that, at the school, there were "so many children who have big problems, it is hard to deal with them and to help children who do not want to be helped."[36] In a different letter, Leflèra noted that the school needed at least three more supervisors if it was to cope with the "welfare problems" associated with the children's being sent to residential school. He recommended the creation of a central training school for problem students.[37]

When a student, whom Principal E. Lemoine described as "very deeply disturbed," tried to burn down the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school, the principal said that for some time he had been trying to "convince whoever wants to listen to me that the school has to care for quite a number of emotionally disturbed children. My point is that this school is not prepared to take care of the needs of this type of children [sic]."[38]

In other cases, it appears that principals had to be warned by Indian Affairs not to take in "social-welfare cases." Alberta Indian Affairs official J. H. Tully was concerned in 1967 over the number of "welfare cases" that the Cardston, Alberta, Roman Catholic school was being asked to accept by either the Blood Band Welfare Committee or provincial "Probation Services." He reminded the school principal that the institution was "not set up to deal with delinquent cases." He advised the principal "to be very cautious about accepting any additional cases if they are referred to you."[39]

Connections with parents

One of the roles of a functioning child-welfare system is to attempt to strengthen family ties and help build healthy relations between children and parents so that the child can be returned to their parents. In their 1967 brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers said that the use of residential schools as child-welfare facilities was

> out of line with newer thinking respecting community life. We are convinced that the best interests of Indian children and families are not served by the present

> system. The lack of what Canadian communities have come to recognize as the sacred partnership of home and school in child care and training not only hampers the social adjustment of the child, but is a serious deprivation for the parents.[1]

Not only did residential schools separate parents and children geographically, but they also discouraged visits. In 1952, Minnedosa, Manitoba, lawyer C. L. St. John wrote a letter to Indian Affairs on behalf of the leaders of the Rolling River and Oakburn bands about the need for accommodation when Indian parents visited their children at the Birtle, Manitoba, school during the winter. Indian Affairs allowed parents to visit their children only on Saturdays, but rail and bus connections meant that it was almost impossible for Oak Nations parents to visit their children on that day without overnight accommodation.[2] Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey stated that "in view of existing conditions everything humanly possible should be done to discourage Indian parents from visiting their children at [the department's] residential schools." He explained that there was "no accommodation that could be placed at the disposal of Indian parents" at the schools, that the "preparation of a number of meals for Indian parents" was an unnecessary burden on the already strained kitchen staff, and that visits from parents had "on a number of occasions ... resulted in the spread of illnesses and the outbreak of epidemics."[3]

A special inspection of the Birtle school in March of that year had revealed that visits from parents disrupted "the whole school and [made] it more difficult to keep the place clean," as visiting parents were "obliged to sleep in the hall leading to the chapel." Hoey then asked that St. John "persuade the Indians that during the year period at least it [was] their patriotic duty not to visit the school except on very special occasions and then only after securing the permission of the principal to do so."[4]

In 1953, F. J. Caldbick, the Indian agent for the Fort St. John Agency in northern British Columbia, gave the parents of two boys in the community of Hobo 108 an ultimatum. He was going to send their sons to the Grouard school in Alberta rather than to the much closer Lower Post school, and even they agreed to visit the Lower Post school only twice a year. Evidently, in Caldbick's opinion, the mother's visits to her children at Lower Post in the past had been the cause of "difficulties" at the school.[5]

In at least one case, administrators felt compelled to spy on parents and children when they were visiting. One of the Saskatchewan schools had what was termed an "Indian Parlor" on its porch, in which parents were allowed to visit their children. According to a 1967 Canadian Welfare Council report on the schools, "The problem of supervision reached such proportions at some point in the past that a one-way mirror was installed to observe what was going on in the parlor."[6]

Parental visits were viewed as being disruptive in part because they served as a check on deteriorating conditions in the schools. In 1949, a group of parents from the northern Manitoba community of Sha-Sha travelled to the Gilbert school to remove

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Table 1. [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

to Table 26.3. If one removes the Prince Albert school from the calculations, the ratio is 72% related to social welfare and 27% related to education.[10]

Table 26.5. Reasons for admission of 1,619 Indian children to nine residential schools in Saskatchewan in 1966.

	Educational Needs	Mentally Retarded	Child Welfare Needs	Emotionally Disturbed	Delinquent
Kamsack	18	0	87	0	0
Onion Lake	13	0	113	0	0
Prince Albert	272	0	21	6	0
Punnichy* (Gordon's)	60	1	193	1	3
Round	30	6	68	0	2
Lebret (Qu'Appelle)	113	3	135	9	4
Lestock (Muscowequan)	0	10	117	6	0
Duck Lake	61	0	110	0	0
Marieval	18	2	73	0	0
Totals	439	21	919	20	9

Source: INC, 1967, Canadian Welfare Council and Caldwell, 1967, pp. 20–28 (original)
* Spelled Punnich in original.

By 1968, Indian Affairs estimated that 60% of the students in residential schools had been placed in the institutions "to remove them from disturbed homes."[11] According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1968–69, the number of students living in residential schools in that year was 8,286.[12] This means that approximately 4,900 children were in residential schools for reasons of child welfare. This was 7.8% of the number of First Nations students in school throughout Canada, both in public and residential schools.[13]

Staff and care

Although Indian Affairs significantly increased teachers' pay in the 1950s, little was done to improve the wages paid to the non-teaching staff. The people who were hired to supervise the daily lives of the students were called alternately "supervisors," "dormitory supervisors," "child care workers," or—in the Catholic schools—"disciplinarians" (because they were expected to maintain discipline). Pay was low, job descriptions were largely non-existent, and workloads were heavy.

After the drowning death of two girls at the Gordon's school in 1947, Harry Monroe, who was both the manual training instructor and the acting boys' supervisor, gave the following account of his duties.

> The Boys' Supervisor gets the boys up, gets them ready for school, supervises meals, sports or handicrafts during the evenings, and puts them to bed.
>
> I try to keep them on the playground, but it is hard to keep check of them unless you are able to be there all the time. Other duties sometimes keep you inside. There are times when they have to be left on the playground alone. If some of them are not around they have to be looked up. When I am having my meals the supervisor for the junior boys is around. I always have an idea where they are because the Farm Instructor tells me the ones he wants.[47]

When staff members were overworked and poorly trained, conditions at the schools could become chaotic. In 1954, Indian agent Ralph Ragan reported that the students at the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, were out of control. According to Ragan, the school's principal, James DeWolf, had been unable to strap two boys, who, he felt, deserved punishment. In Ragan's opinion, "the entire fault lies in the under staff—the boy's [sic] supervisor and other employees of the School. Mission salaries are so out of line that the proper type of employee can not possibly be obtained." He pointed out that the $70 a month paid to the boys' supervisor meant that "the only type of person that can be obtained for this salary, is a person who can not get work elsewhere."[48]

In his 1956 report to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, Henry G. Cook, the Indian School Administration superintendent, wrote that the greatest single problem facing the board was the recruiting of "competent Anglican staff workers." There was "a critical shortage of lady workers with Matron qualifications," and many capable staff had been "enticed away by higher salaries paid in other institutions." The recruiting problem was aggravated by the fact that "Clergy are reluctant to encourage parishioners into I.S.A. [the Anglican Indian School Administration] schools as staff members."[49]

Gordon's, Saskatchewan, principal John I. T. Johnstone initially expected that under the new funding formula of 1957, "we will have more money to spend on the overall operation with more freedom in the general field of administration."[50] A few months later, however, he concluded that "salary scales are still lower than those paid locally for comparable jobs."[51]

In 1960, R. Phillips, the principal of the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, acknowledged that when it came to student supervisors, "with our salary allotment, we are unable to secure qualified men. Also, compared with similar institutions, the supervisors are expected to put in too many hours weekly to give of their best, anywhere from 66 to 72 hours. Our top salary for a supervisor is $2400 per annum." By comparison, he said, Brookside Training School for Boys, a youth reformatory in Cobourg, Ontario, paid supervisors a starting salary of $3,200.[52]

In the course of a negative assessment of the United Church school in Edmonton, Indian Affairs official R. F. Battle commented on the lack of emotional care given to children at the school, particularly those who came from broken homes. His observations

on the Edmonton school led him to conclude that the Catholic schools did a better job than the Protestants in meeting the emotional needs of students.

> I feel that many of these children need the loving care of parents more than anything else. I have observed that institutions of this type, operated under Roman Catholic auspices, often are able to offer some acceptable substitute for the care and attention children would normally obtain from their parents. I cannot put my finger on the exact reasons for this unless it is the well known fact that R.C. institutions are usually operated by dedicated people. The same spirit of dedication seems to be unattainable in Protestant institutions unless such institutions are fortunate enough to obtain this type of personnel. It has been my experience that such achievement in Protestant institutions is the exception rather than the rule, and even if attained, continuity is rarely maintained.[93]

Even the Catholic Church had difficulty getting the sort of staff that was required. In 1950, a desperate Fraser Lake principal J. P. Mulvihill asked the Oblate order in Ottawa if "there was any possible chance of getting a Brother. The boys [sic] disciplinarian is quitting and I cant [sic] find anyone to take his place. We are having a hectic time, one teacher short and no prospects. The one who was coming suddently [sic] changed her mind and we are in a pickle."[94] He had to turn down one of the candidates who had been proposed to him because "we have one subnormal Brother here already."[95] The major commendation for the one he accepted was the assessment that, as the senior brother at the Novitiate (Catholic training institute), he had the "knack of ordering the other Brothers and Lay postulants around with a certain degree of success."[96] As Mulvihill awaited the arrival of the new disciplinarian, he lamented that the school year was not off to a good start: for "the last two nights I have been chasing run-aways. The Sisters are having a very hard time with discipline. Their choice of sisters for the work is not a very happy one."[97]

In 1955, Mission, British Columbia, principal John Ryan reported that the "discipline problem still casts its ugly shadow." He proposed exchanging his school disciplinarian, Brother Gerard, for the disciplinarian at the Christie, British Columbia, school. Gerard, he wrote, "is not too inefficient, but he has poor judgment and he is rather inclined to be lazy, especially when the going gets tough."[98] The following year, the Christie disciplinarian was sent to Mission, and Gerard was sent to the Williams Lake school. Oblate Provincial L. K. Poupore wrote that he felt a good disciplinarian was needed at the Mission school, since "discipline was not too good there last year and it will require someone with firm hand to get things back to normal." Brother John MacDonald was sent to Christie Island to serve as disciplinarian there, even though, as Poupore wrote, he "is not the best disciplinarian in the world but he will not find it so difficult at Tofino. His main problem was the High School boys at Mission."[99]

Five years later, a different Mission principal, Edward J. Clarke, complained to a senior Oblate about one of the boys' supervisors at the school. Brother Sampson, he wrote,

> whilst not an old man, is not in condition to keep up with these Indian teenagers. I feel that the time has come for him to be released from supervision of the boys of any age, particularly this age group. He shows no inclination to guide them. He has little talent that is required for the direction of boys of this age. He is quite suspicious of their motives and has little training to handle problems of this age group.

He added that Sampson was inclined to fall asleep "at the wrong time." The previous night, fourteen boys had been out of the school and "could have come in at any time of night as far as he was concerned."[100] When asked to appoint a replacement, Oblate Provincial Poupore informed Clarke that he had no one he could spare.

In fact, the Oblates were experiencing a staffing problem. According to Clarke, "Four Brothers did not renew their vows this year. Of five who made first vows in 1959–60 there are only two left."[101] The following year, Brother Sampson was sent from Mission to the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school.[102]

There were also problems at the Williams Lake school. On December 22, 1955, the British United Press agency carried a story from Lillooet, British Columbia, with the headline "Indian Children 'Starved.'" According to the story, parents at Creek Side had complained that their children at the Williams Lake school "are being half starved." When the children returned home for the Christmas holiday, "they all had frozen hands, ears, faces and even feet. Some had to be taken to the hospital." As a result, parents were planning not to return their children to the school.[103] William Christie, the local Indian agent, demanded an apology from the news service, saying that while it was possible that such a story might have "originated with an irresponsible Indian," it should not have been broadcast until the reporter had checked with the school.[104] The news service did not apologize, but it did run stories quoting parents and school officials who disputed the original allegations.[105]

Although the public-relations problem created by the news story had been resolved, the Williams Lake school was in crisis. On December 29, 1955, an Oblate at the school, Leo Casey, wrote to Oblate Provincial Fergus O'Grady, outlining Principal Dennis Shea's drinking problem. According to Casey, Shea had a number of health problems that had led to his having "lost control," regularly "inviting a few friends into his room and breaking open a bottle of Scotch." Rather than paying attention to the boys, the disciplinarians were spending their time entertaining the new lay teachers, whom Casey described as "exemplary Catholic girls." A few days earlier, four boys had run away when the temperature was minus 10 degrees Fahrenheit, after having "been given a beating the night before by one of the disciplinarians." When the boys were found the following morning, one had badly frozen toes.[106]

Indian agent William Christie also wrote to O'Grady, echoing Casey's concerns and recommending that the principal and a number of other staff members be replaced, since "the children are suffering for lack of supervision and other activities."[107] Christie also apparently told Poupore, who was just replacing O'Grady as Oblate Provincial, that Shea "needs a holiday."[108]

The Oblate order sent Kamloops principal J. P. Mulvihill to investigate the situation at Williams Lake. He met with Indian agent Christie, who told him that he believed the school principal, Father Shea, had a drinking problem, that the kitchen was not well run, that the discipline on the boys' side of the school was poor—he described one staff member as "useless" and the other as "spoiled"—and that neither the doctor nor the local nurse was satisfied with the health conditions. Christie, who was a Roman Catholic, was also concerned about the degree of publicity the problems were generating, admitting to Mulvihill that a Protestant Indian agent "would have reported Shea a long time ago." When Mulvihill met with Shea, he admitted to his drinking, but said "he didn't drink as much as last year." Shea and the mother superior denied that there was any substance to the other complaints—other than to point out that when it came to sanitary facilities in the boys' playroom, there were three toilets for 160 boys. However, one nun stopped him in the hall to tell him that "there was enough truth in all the accusations so that they couldnt [sic] stand an investigation." Another Oblate told him that he thought "Shea was going mental."[109]

When, on January 22, 1956, Poupore wrote to Shea, saying he wanted to discuss the possibility of his taking a rest, Shea, to Poupore's displeasure, immediately packed his bags and left for Ottawa.[110] In response, Poupore informed Shea that he would not be returning to his position as school principal and that his cousin, who had been working at the school, had also been relieved of his duties.[111]

These are issues that both the Oblate order and Indian agent Christie should have reported on to Indian Affairs. In the files that it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located any correspondence regarding their doing so. The Commission has, however, found records showing that Christie, perhaps because he was Catholic, was *not* passing on information that would be embarrassing to the Roman Catholic Church.

By 1960, the department had come to the realization that there was a high turnover in residential school dormitory supervisors, primarily caused by the "low wages and long hours entailed in this work." An internal government paper recommended raising the wage from $2,600 a year to $2,900.[112] It was not until 1963 that Indian Affairs organized its first in-service training course for dormitory supervisors. Fifty supervisors, including twelve First Nations people, attended the two-week course that was held at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school.[113]

These limited measures brought only limited improvements. In 1965, Ahab Spence, who was both a former residential school student and the former principal

of the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school, told Indian Affairs that although he believed most principals and teachers to be properly qualified, there was a need to improve the quality of the supervisory staff. These members of the staff were with the children "from sunrise to sundown," yet many were "inexperienced, immature, and perhaps are in this job because they were not able to find or 'hold' another job."[114] Clara Tizya, a former residential school matron in the Yukon, echoed Spence's views, writing that, when it came to hiring, "there seems to be a tendency to take anyone that applies." She recommended that "it would help more if native people were trained for the different types of jobs involving supervision."[115]

A 1966 survey of nine schools in Saskatchewan, conducted by the Canadian Welfare Council, observed that although the schools employed eighty-six teachers, there were only sixty-three child-care workers. At the start of the year, the government-authorized staff–student ratio for child-care workers was one to thirty, although this was reduced to one to twenty-five in the spring of 1966. They worked split shifts, having responsibility for students in the morning, at mealtimes, after school, and in the evenings. Most of them worked between sixty and eighty hours a week. Since there were no relief workers, when one had a day off or was sick, the other workers simply had to assume their workload. As a result, the staff–student ratio could often be much higher than one to thirty or one to twenty-five.[116] Only sixteen of fifty-three workers surveyed had completed high school. (For details, see Table 34.4.)[117]

Table 34.4. Training and education of child-care workers at nine Saskatchewan schools, 1966.

Highest Level of Education	Number of Child-Care Workers
University graduation	1
University courses	1
Special training	8
High school completed	6
Grade Ten or Eleven completed	13
Grade Eight or Nine completed	20
Less than Grade Eight	4
	53

Source: TRC, NRA, Canadian Welfare Council and Caldwell, 1967, 121. [AEMR-019759]

Although Indian Affairs "urged that the education standing for Supervisors should be, at least, Grade 12," in 1967, the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school handbook required only that applicants have a minimum of Grade Eight. The employees were hired on a monthly or yearly basis, and could not attain permanent status until they finished Grade Ten.[118] The following year, Indian Affairs had to acknowledge that most of the 300 child-care workers or dormitory supervisors employed in residential schools were "non-professionals." In that year, the federal government approved a

five-year plan intended to create "a core of 100 trained child care workers" by putting twenty workers a year through a training program at Mount Royal Junior College in Calgary.[119] The year-long program included theory, practice, and fieldwork, with specific instruction in English, community service, recreation, child-care methods, and social service. The program was not specifically designed for those who worked in residential schools, but was intended "for people who wish to work with children in residential settings."[120] By the spring of 1969, thirteen former residential school employees were taking child-care training at Mount Royal Junior College. All of them were receiving some form of government support while they were taking the course.[121] In later years, the program was offered at both Mount Royal and Douglas College in New Westminster, British Columbia.[122]

The transfer to provincial authorities

Many government officials and social service professionals thought that the issue of child welfare would be best handled by transferring the responsibility to provincial governments. In their 1947 brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers recommended, "Arrangements might be made with provincial child caring authorities to supply a service on the basis of payment for individual cases where it was deemed advisable."[123] Such a transfer to provincial authority was in keeping with federal policy of the day. It would require legislative change, agreement with the provinces, and, if it was to be truly effective, improved funding. Under Section 87 of the 1951 *Indian Act*, the government of Canada had sought to transfer responsibility for delivering child-welfare services for people with status under the *Indian Act* to provincial authorities.[124] In coming years, agreements were reached between the federal government and a number of provincial child-welfare agencies to extend child-welfare services to reserves. Provincial governments maintained that the federal government was obliged to pay for these services and conflicts over the level of funding restricted the types of services available.[125]

Once agreements were put into place, the number of First Nations children being apprehended by provincial children's aid societies began to climb. In 1955, only 29 of the 3,433 children in care in British Columbia were of First Nations ancestry. An informal agreement was reached with the British Columbia government in 1962, under which the federal government paid 100% of the costs of child protection and child-in-care costs. By 1964, the number of First Nations children in the care of provincial agencies had jumped to 1,446. In less than a decade, First Nations children had become a third of the province's child-welfare caseload.[126]

The overall assessment of the 1966 Hawthorn Report, which surveyed First Nations conditions, was that for much of the country, the provision of child-welfare services to First Nations people was "unsatisfactory to appalling."[127] Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta—provinces that had large numbers of residential schools—had no province-wide child-welfare agreements with the federal government in the mid-1960s. Provincially funded agencies stepped in only when a child's life was endangered. In such cases, children were apprehended, while families were left without preventive or follow-up services. Children could become stuck in a succession of foster homes. Delaying intervention until a life-or-death crisis occurred inevitably meant that some children were not only exposed to needless risk, but also, in some cases, died.[128]

The Caldwell report

In 1965, Indian Affairs contracted the Canadian Welfare Council to carry out a study to determine "how well do the residential schools and hostels satisfy the needs of the Indian pupil population enrolled in these institutions and are there practical alternatives to residential school care." Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey recommended, "Since the problems in Saskatchewan are particularly acute and will require early attention it is hoped that the study might be centred in that province."[129] George Caldwell, the associate executive secretary of the Family and Child Welfare division of the council, directed the ensuing study of nine Saskatchewan schools in 1966. A final report was submitted the following year. It concluded that the residential school system failed

> to meet the total needs of the child because it fails to individualize; rather it treats him en masse in every significant activity of daily life. His sleeping, eating, recreation, academic training, spiritual training and discipline are all handled in such a regimented way as to force conformity to the institutional pattern. The absence of emphasis on the development of the individual child as a unique person is the most disturbing result of this whole system. The schools are providing a custodial care service rather than a child development service. The physical environment of the daily living aspects of the residential school is overcrowded, poorly designed, highly regimented and forces a mass approach to the children. The residential school reflects a pattern of child care which was dominant in the early decades of the 20th century, a concept of combined shelter and education at the least public expense.[130]

Caldwell reviewed the admission process in light of what he termed "normal child welfare practice." This would require

1) an assessment of the child's need and the ability of the institution to meet that need;

2) counselling with parents to let them know the reasons for the placement and the role they could play, and to address the underlying reasons for the placement;

3) pre-placement treatment that would help children prepare for their residential school; and

4) planning for meeting the child's needs upon discharge.

The reality was very different from normal practice. There was usually no pre-placement counselling and Indian Affairs did not have any staff who could provide such counselling. Social workers were not involved at any point in the decision-making process. The report observed that "one could search far to find a parallel situation in which parents are less involved in the direction of their children than residential schools." No substantial work had been undertaken to provide "service to the Indian parents around the problems which necessitated placement of their children." Once the students were in the school, professional services to help children address the reasons for their placement were "completely lacking." There was no planning for the discharge of students, other than an interview with an Indian Affairs educational officer when the student reached Grade Eight.[xv] Indian Affairs had established standards and provided professional supervision in areas such as finances, education, and maintenance of residential schools, but Caldwell could identify "no outside evaluation and supervision of the child-care component of the program."[xvi] Caring for the children did not exist as a category that was in need of monitoring.

As with so many aspects of residential schooling, funding was inadequate. Caldwell reported that the Saskatchewan residential schools were spending between $694 and $1,183 a year per student. The schools with the largest enrolments had the lowest per-pupil costs. (See Table 10.3.)[xvii]

Table 10.3: Spending per child, Saskatchewan residential schools, 1966

File Hills	100	$1,183
Duck Lake	152	$[illegible]
Prince Albert	175	$[illegible]
Qu'Appelle	185	$[illegible]
Battleford	190	$1,163
Lebret (Qu'Appelle)	200	$694
Lestock (Marieval)	135	$[illegible]
Duck Lake	180	$880
Marieval	90	$1,159

Source: INC, RG1, Canadian Welfare Council and Caldwell, 1965, fig. [illegible] 1965/[illegible]

these figures compared poorly with other residential care facilities. According to Caldwell's report:

> A 1964 study of the costs of residential treatment in the United States showed an over-all range of costs per child per annum from $4000 to $16,000. In Canada, there is a wide pattern of costs. Provincial institutions for children in Nova Scotia are averaging $11,000 per annum, an Ontario treatment centre for children, Shannondale, has had a list of $27.00 per day or $9,855 per annum, a Winnipeg institution reports its per diem cost at $16.38 per day or $6,051.30 per annum.[13]

Caldwell's point was simple: good care for children costs much more than Indian Affairs was spending on residential schools.

The report focused considerable attention on the residential schools' regimentation and lack of privacy. In most of the schools in Saskatchewan, the students lived in large dormitories, some of which had up to fifty students. They ate in large dining halls, and had little in the way of personal storage space. There was no place where a child could be alone. It was, wrote Caldwell, "unreasonable that children are still cared for in a nineteenth century atmosphere."[14] In this, he was echoing Hugh Spence's concern that students had no time "to do (their) own thinking." As a former principal, Spence recognized that the easiest way to operate a school was to impose "an order" regulations. But, as a former student, he knew that this meant there was no "opportunity for some responsibility and initiative on the part of the children without the feeling that someone is looking over their shoulder."[15]

When the government received Caldwell's report, R. F. Davey thought its distribution should be restricted to "departmental officials and the representatives of the clergy."[16] The principals of the eight Oblate-run schools in British Columbia objected to the fact that Caldwell's report was billed as a report on all residential schools. Oblate O. G. Reilly wrote, "To survey nine schools in one province and then proceed to make universal recommendations to all schools in all provinces, is to say the least, presumptuous." The principals disputed the allegation that children were treated "en masse," and said the schools operated as a "bridge between white and Indian cultures."[17] Kamloops Oblate principal Allan Brennan argued that the report was biased and unfair, failing to take into account "the tremendous amount of labor and love that the Oblates and Sisters of St. Ann and other congregations have poured into these Schools over the past 100 years. The white man has taken the land of the Indian away from him; now more white men want to take their Residential Schools away from them."[18]

In a response to the Oblates, Caldwell said that Indian Affairs held the British Columbia schools in highest regard; the Saskatchewan schools had been selected because "a system is only as good as its weakest parts." In response to a claim that the British Columbia schools did not engage in the "en masse" assessment of children, Caldwell pointed to his experience when visiting a school in that province. There, he said, the junior boys had been lined up in what was referred to as a "boot room." Here

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

CHAPTER 35

Building conditions: 1940–1969

In the spring of 1948, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, prepared a review of the residential schools to identify how, in a wartime economy, the cost of operating the schools could be "kept within reasonable bounds" without impairing the government's $10 million investment in the schools. He started by noting that during his time with the department (which began in 1936), there had never been available "the funds necessary to undertake the repairs required at a majority of our residential schools." He also wanted that the decision to pay the per capita grant to schools at 92.2% of the maximum payment, and to reduce the funds available for repairs and the replacement of equipment, "may not be the best policy to pursue." (The payment was the maximum number of students the federal government agreed to fund at a particular school.) Instead, he recommended that the government consider "closing a number of government-owned and church-owned schools that are at this date in a somewhat dilapidated condition and which have become a drain on the treasury." He said that many of the problems lay in the fact that the buildings were poorly built in the first place, failing to meet "the minimum essentials in the construction of public buildings, particularly institutions for the education of children."

According to Hoey, poor foundations at schools at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, and Cross Bay, British Columbia, meant that the walls were constantly leaking rainwater and that the inside walls were regularly in need of replastering. Both school buildings were less than ten years old. The foundation of the ten year old Birtle, Manitoba, school was sinking and large cracks were opening in the floor of the school. There had never been money to repair the foundation of the cracks. Finally, overcrowding was causing the north wall of the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, Ontario, to bulge. The roof of the fifteen year old Lytton, British Columbia, school required a costly replacement.

In the previous three years, Indian Affairs had made improvements to the water supply at nine schools. There were, however, Hoey wrote, "still a large number of schools where the water supply is wholly inadequate," with critical shortages at the Gordon's, Ontario, school and the Brandon and Sandy Bay schools in Manitoba.

Since December 1936, the Alberni, Aberdeen, Alberni, Cameron, Alert Bay, and Kenora schools had been wholly or partially destroyed by fire. (In the case of Alert Bay, the boys' building had been destroyed, and, at Kenora, the staff residence and dormitories were destroyed.)

The Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school needed a new sewage plant; the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school was on the verge of collapse; the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school was "one of the most dilapidated and insanitary [sic] schools we have at present"; the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school was "in poor state of repair," as were the Wabasca, Whitefish Lake, and Sturgeon Lake schools in Alberta; the Roman Catholic and the Anglican schools in Brocket, Alberta, were so strangely constructed that they swayed and rocked in a high wind; and the "ramshackle" Squamish, British Columbia, school was "an acute fire hazard."

Some schools were poorly located. After explaining that the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school had been closed during the First World War, Hoey commented that "it is difficult to understand at this date why it was ever re-opened." Most of the students at the school in southwestern Manitoba came from the North, and "the cost of transportation is quite substantial." Edmonton, Alberta, school principal J. F. Woodsworth was deemed to be "one of our best principals," but, even though he was allowed to recruit students from the British Columbia coast, he had not been able in recent years to fill a school "that cost more to erect than any other in our entire system."

In his 1980 report, Hoey recommended that the government close twelve schools. In Manitoba, they included the Portage la Prairie school, which was not closed until 1975; and the Pine Creek school, which was closed in 1969. In Saskatchewan, the list of schools Hoey recommended be closed included Round Lake, which was closed in 1950; and Battleford school in Delmas, which was destroyed by fire in 1948. In Alberta, the list included Wabasca, which was transferred to the Alberta government in 1966; Whitefish Lake, which was closed in 1950; Sturgeon Lake, which was closed in 1961; Sacred Heart in Brocket, which closed in 1961; and St. Cyprian in Brocket, which closed in 1961. In British Columbia, the list included Kitamaat, which closed in 1941; Port Simpson, which closed in 1948; and Squamish, which closed in 1959.

He further recommended that the government transfer funding of the St. Paul's Hostel in the Yukon to the Yukon territorial administration, since there were non-status Indians living in the hostel. He recommended that an additional twenty-five day school classrooms be established across the country to replace the schools that he recommended be closed.[1]

Hoey did succeed in closing some schools, but there were still fifty-six in operation in southern Canada in 1969 when Indian Affairs took over full management of the system from the churches.[2] Although there had been some improvements in operational funding for the schools, Indian Affairs refused to make significant capital investments in a system it intended to close. After 1969, Indian Affairs rapidly began to shut down

the schools. But, in the intervening years, residential school students lived and studied in aging and inadequate buildings, usually in crowded conditions.

After a 1942 inspection of the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, Hoey wrote that while the exterior of the school was "somewhat imposing," on the inside, the school was "one of the most dilapidated structures I have ever inspected."[4] (It is unlikely that he knew it, but Hoey was echoing Martin Benson's 1902 assessment that the Mount Elgin school "is a very handsome structure but the out-buildings are not at all in keeping with it and certainly want renovating, as a survey of the present premises presents a showy front and a shabby back.")[5] Hoey's 1942 report continued:

> At the time of my visit the plumbing in the boys' wash-room was in a faulty stae [sic] of repair, with the result that the wash bowl were [sic] full of filthy water and the floor of the wash-room in a filthy condition. The odors in the wash-room and indeed throughout the building were so offensive that I could scarcely endure them. Certain parts of this building are literally alive with cockroaches—this applies particularly to the kitchen.

His recommendation was to either close it immediately or rebuild it—at a cost of $200,000.[6] In a letter to the United Church Board of Home Missions, Hoey acknowledged that the condition of the Mount Elgin school was due to the limited funding provided by Indian Affairs. He also feared that the school might be "kept open and in operation in its present dilapidated condition almost indefinitely."[7] By 1943, local Indian agents had informed Hoey that "in view of the condition of the building, they were not prepared to encourage Indian pupils to attend the institution."[8]

The United Church opposed the government plan to close the school (the only United Church school in Ontario) and send its students to local day schools or an Anglican residential school. Church official George Dorey said that when United Church students attended such schools, they came to view themselves as Anglicans, and, on their return to their home communities, they did not attend the United Church.[9] Hoey eventually prevailed: Mount Elgin was closed in 1946.[10]

Wartime labour shortages made it difficult for principals to recruit skilled mechanics to maintain the schools, or to acquire needed maintenance equipment.[10] The problems that Hoey identified in 1940 continued to plague the schools, even after the end of the war and the commencement of a long period of economic prosperity for Canada. From 1945 to 1950, the country's gross national product, adjusted for inflation, doubled. From 1945 to 1960—again adjusted for inflation—it quadrupled. From 1945 to 1956, the unemployment rate averaged just 2.5%.[11] In March 1933, in the depths of the Great Depression, the rate had been 30%.[12] Clearly, the country's economic fortunes had recovered, but there was insufficient new investment in Canada's residential schools.

In 1947, H. A. Alderwood of the Anglican Indian School Administration described the Chapleau, Ontario, school as "a disgrace" to both the government and the church.

It was in need of painting, plastering, and repair "from one end to the other." The dining-room floor was full of holes, the boys' playroom floor was broken "beyond description," and the tables and benches in the sewing room were "unfit for use."[13] A 1950 inspection found the plaster in the Presbyterian school in Kenora to be in a "deplorable state of repair," the light was judged to be poor, and the sewage system appeared to be leaking. The roof on the Catholic school in the same community was in poor shape and water was leaking into the classrooms.[14]

Maintenance was also an issue at the Brandon school, which had opened in 1895.[15] By the fall of 1948, the school, which was operated by the United Church, was in what Indian Affairs official R. S. Davis called "a very deplorable state of repair." The playrooms had "no facilities for children to play games, and only one or two benches to sit on," the washrooms needed repair, the roof leaked, and the dormitories needed redecorating. According to Davis, Principal Oliver would do nothing to the building except see that "the staff and himself are comfortable." On this point, he said that in building a new house for the principal, the department may have overdone it, since it stood out in marked contrast to the school.[16]

A 1948 building inspection of the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school reported that the plumbing was in poor shape, the septic tank was not functioning properly, the generator did not supply enough electricity to light the school adequately, the boilers were old, the water supply was insufficient, and only two of the seven toilets were functional. The report concluded that the building should be demolished.[17]

While the Chapleau school closed in 1948 and File Hills in 1949, other schools in poor repair continued to operate.[18] Indian agent G. H. Gooderham detailed a number of problems with the Roman Catholic school in Cluny, Alberta, in the summer of 1945. He pointed out that an addition to the school constructed in 1938 had never been weatherproofed, the windows "did not keep out the wintry gales," the walls were beginning to crack, the foundation had no footings, and the boys' playroom in the basement could not be heated adequately.[19] In 1946, Gooderham prepared an overall survey of the schools in Alberta: he had little that was positive to say. The Hobbema school was "depressing," the Peigan schools were "God-forsaken set-ups," and standards at the Anglican school at Cardston had been lowered by the "stress of the last war." Only the Morley school, the two schools at Cluny on the Blackfoot Reserve, and the Roman Catholic school at Cardston received positive assessments.[20] That same year, E. L. Stone, the Indian Health Services medical superintendent for Alberta, wrote:

> The Anglican residential school at Wabasca is a discredit to the Department and the Church. The main school was burned some time ago and not rebuilt. Seventeen girls are housed in crowdede [sic] and unsanitary sleeping quarters over an old warehouse, a similar number of boys over another building.

Stone wrote that the principal was "discouraged and embittered and is said to have resigned. It is hard to concieve [sic] what would tempt or induce anyone to take up his burden after him."[21]

The Hobbema school was sixty years old and overcrowded in 1949. According to the principal there, it needed a new fire-escape system, new dormitories, a new barn (the existing barn was so cold that the cows did not produce enough milk in the winter months to meet the students' needs), a new well, new staff housing, and new cutlery.[22]

Inspector L. G. P. Waller pointed out in October 1951 that the heating system at the Desmarais, Alberta, school was "not entirely adequate."[23] He returned to the subject in his December 1952 report, noting that "an improved heating system is imperative for the health of the pupils and the staff." At the same time, he questioned the wisdom of putting a new heating system, which might cost up to $100,000, into the aging building.[24] Three months later, a different inspector, G. L. Berry, reported:

> The room temperature was very low, about 45 degrees F., and reports are that it cannot be raised to a comfortable level when the wind is in certain quarters. Probably the cold room had something to do with the poor attendance and with the restlessness of the class. The room is insufficiently lighted, with cottage type windows at the back and on one side.[25]

There were similar problems farther west. In 1946, the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school was deemed to have outlived its usefulness. According to the minutes of a meeting between government and Catholic officials, the school was both a fire hazard and a menace to the health of the students and staff. The government recommended that the Oblates, who owned the building, replace it.[26]

Sister J. Baptist wrote to the wife of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent (referring to her as "Dear Mother") in 1949 to make the case for a new school at Williams Lake. She said the buildings had been condemned ten years earlier and were now "so cold and dilapidated." There were often blackouts because the generator failed, and there were fears that the convent "will go up in flames some fine night."[27] A government official responded that government architects were in the process of drawing up plans for a replacement building.[28]

Indian Affairs official J. Coleman delivered a scathing critique of the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school in October 1947.

> A tour was made of the main building on the first day and everywhere was found evidence of very bad housekeeping and maintenance. On the boys' wing only one toilet was found in order, most of the others being in a filthy condition and running over into the dormitories. On both the boys' and girls' sides only one roll of toilet paper was hung on the wall.[29]

In 1956, the federal government agreed to provide funding for the construction of a new school at Christie, British Columbia. The Oblates, while recognizing that there

were problems with that school, believed there was greater need for a new building at Mission in that province.[30]

As Hoey had noted in 1940, water supply was a problem at many schools. In 1941, a month-long breakdown in the water supply at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, Alberta, led officials to close the school and send the children home.[31] An analysis of the Birtle, Manitoba, school's water in 1940 showed a high level of colon bacilli, a sign of fecal contamination. It was discovered that the school chlorination plant was not working. Not only was it difficult to get trained repairmen out to the school, but the Indian agent also worried that it would be difficult to recruit a school engineer who was familiar enough with the technology to properly maintain it.[32] In 1950, the school's hot-water supply had to be shut down because of a leak in the heating equipment. To bathe, the students had to haul buckets of boiling water from the boiler in the school basement to the bathtubs.[33] In 1957, a federal report rated the quality of water coming from the tap in the school kitchen as "dangerous."[34]

The water supply at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school was dire in 1945. The school drew its water from a small, nearby lake. A period of drought had led to a decline in water levels, affecting both water supply and quality. Indian Affairs official J. P. B. Ostrander reported that the water was largely stagnant, and the staff refused to drink it, saying it was making them ill.[35] A report the following year concluded that the school's water was not fit for human consumption.[36] The problem was so severe that the school was open only "spasmodically" between 1946 and 1950.[37]

Inspectors had harsh words for the water-treatment systems at the two schools in Kenora, Ontario, in 1946. The system at the Roman Catholic school was described as "extremely antiquated" and in need of replacement. The system at the Presbyterian school was functioning erratically. Where, in the past, the system had added excessive amounts of chlorine to the water, it had now become so blocked that it was not adding any chlorine.[38] In 1950, the Ontario Grand Jury, which inspected public buildings in northwestern Ontario, felt compelled to use capital letters to comment on the effect of the Catholic school on Kenora's sewage-disposal system. The jury concluded it was "DANGEROUS TO THE HEALTH OF THE RESIDENTS OF THE SCHOOL. FURTHER, THE NATURE OF THE SEWAGE DISPOSAL OUTLET, BEING SO CLOSE TO THE WATER INTAKE OF THE TOWN OF KENORA, IT IS ALSO DANGEROUS TO THE HEALTH OF THE CITIZENS OF KENORA."[39] The concern about the threat to the local water supply had been raised in the early 1950s.[40] By 1959, Dr. Eaton, the local medical officer, felt that the sewage system had contributed to local water pollution so much that he was threatening to close the school and take the federal government to court.[41] Although the problem was abated by a reduction in enrolment, in 1962, piping on the school's water-intake system broke, leading to a situation where the school was pumping sewage into its own water system.[42]

There were ongoing water and sewage problems at three Roman Catholic schools in Manitoba through the 1950s. In the fall of 1953, G. H. Marcoux, the Manitoba

inspector of Indian schools, reported that the sewage system at the Fort Alexander school had failed. There were fifteen to twenty centimetres of sewage in the boiler room that was seeping into the boys' playroom and threatening to back up in the toilets. The smell, Marcoux wrote, "was unbearable and no human being should be asked to live under such circumstances." He recommended an immediate closing of the school.[43] A 1954 bacteriological report on the water from five different taps (the kitchen, the junior boys' playroom, the girls' playroom, the small boys' playroom, and the boys' dormitory) came with the same comment on the quality of the water from each tap: "bad."[44] A follow-up report two months later described the water as being contaminated, though not necessarily harmful.[45] A 1957 inspection concluded that the water was being improperly chlorinated: the three bacteriological samples taken were all described as "dangerous."[46]

As he prepared for the start of the 1958 school year, Sandy Bay school principal Father Roland Chaput wrote to the local supervisor of Indian agencies, wondering "what is going to happen to our plumbing," which he described as being in a "pitiable state." He wrote:

> More leaks seem to open almost every day and I have just stopped counting them. It makes life miserable for everybody to tread over puddles of water, and more still to have to wipe the floors several times each day. The sight of steam pipes patched with friction tape, or of cans and jugs hung up to catch the dripping water is very unsightly to say the least.

Something needed to be done that fall "if we are to live till next year."[47]

The principal of the Pine Creek school had reached a point of despair in 1959. By then, he had been making the case for urgent repairs to the school for two years.

> There have been Department engineers and other minor officials by the dozen, to take measurements for the proposed toilets and shower baths etc. ... month after month they have kept coming in, promising that the proposed repairs would be dealt with <u>at once</u> ... but ... winter employment was a good occasion to give work of that kind ... etc. ... but ... nothing has been done yet.

He pointed out that he had two toilets for eighty boys and two toilets for seventy-five girls (this included both boarding students and day students). There was one shower and one shower bath for sixty-five boys and three bathtubs for sixty-five girls. Tenders had been received to fix the leaky roof, but the school had been informed that since the tenders were high, the repairs would be postponed until the following year.[48]

Shortly after taking over as principal in Wabasca, Alberta, Eric Barrington reported in 1961 that the water at the school had, "to put it mildly, a flavour all its own, the colour is that of medium strong coffee also is very hard and discolours all receptacles it has the misfortune to touch."[49]

The Cariboo Union Board of Health declared the Williams Lake school to be a public nuisance in June 1965. The school, which Indian Affairs had judged to have outlived its usefulness almost twenty years earlier in 1946, was now dumping 40,000 gallons (151,416 litres) of raw sewage into the San Jose River on a daily basis. The board was threatening to have the school closed in two months if Indian Affairs did not have a promised sewage-treatment plant in operation.[51] The federal Treasury Board gave approval for the leasing of land for a new sewage lagoon in November 1965.[52] The school itself remained in operation until 1981.[53]

The general decline in the quality of conditions throughout the school system continued through the late 1950s and into the 1960s. After an inspection of the Edmonton school in 1957, W. E. Frame, a new inspector of Indian schools, wrote that since taking on his position with Indian Affairs, he had been

> struck by the fact that the quality of classroom accommodation provided for the Indian pupils on the whole is inferior to that found in the public schools of this Province, with which I am very familiar. In many cases the Indian school buildings and additions appear to have been constructed on a "make do" basis to meet immediate needs.

He found the Edmonton school to be "outmoded and in very poor physical condition. Renovation and upkeep have been delayed to such an extent that nothing short of a complete and thorough overhaul can bring the buildings up to a reasonable standard."[54]

A 1958 inspection of the Fort Frances, Ontario, school concluded that the building, which dated back to the nineteenth century, was beyond repair and should be condemned. Indian Affairs' plan was to replace the school with a dormitory and a three-classroom block.[55]

An inspector concluded in 1960 that the wiring system at the Portage la Prairie school—one of the schools that Henry sought to close in 1940—was "in very bad condition." The lighting intensity was poor throughout the building, and a lack of outlets led to the "use of many extension cords which constitute a fire hazard." The inspector said that the wiring at the Brandon and Birtle schools was similar to that at the Portage school.[56] The following year, the principal of the Portage la Prairie residential school informed Indian Affairs that the residence was a "hazard and should be closed." Cataloguing the major deficits, he wrote: "dormitories too small, plumbing fixtures absolutely worn out, lighting a fire hazard."[57]

During the early 1960s, the principal of the McIntosh, Ontario, school had raised concerns about the school's heating system. One fall, temperatures were fluctuating between 50 and 85 degrees Fahrenheit (10 to 29 degrees Celsius).[58] In a letter to Indian Affairs in April 1962, he expressed the hope that the government would have the system fixed by winter.[59]

In 1958, the Oblate order established the Assiniboia school in a forty-year-old building that had been constructed by the Winnipeg School Division as a residence for abandoned and abused children.[74] A 1965 inspection described the boys' dressing room, located in the school basement, as "totally inadequate, grossly over-crowded, depressing and damp." The boys' toilet room had too few urinals, and the shower room was poorly ventilated and provided students with no privacy. The inspector described the playroom, the manual training room, the home economics kitchen, and the home economics classroom as being, respectively, "inadequate," "unsatisfactory," "extremely inadequate," and "entirely inadequate." Each was crowded and poorly ventilated. Equally critical remarks were made about the girls' playroom, and the dormitories, which were seen to be overcrowded.[75]

The Alberta schools continued to decline. In 1965, it was decided that the Roman Catholic school in Cluny was to be closed within five years. Only emergency repairs were to be made to the building from that point on.[76] (The school closed in 1968.)[77]

In 1967, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, Alberta, complained that the domestic staff members at the school were required to sleep four to a room. As the principal noted, "If our employees were not Indians, this would not have been tolerated as long as it has been." The primary school, a former army barracks that had been donated to the school twenty years earlier, had been "condemned by the fire marshall several years ago." On hot days in the spring and fall, the "classrooms actually stink." The Kindergarten had been operating out of the church basement for three years—a point that particularly irritated the residential school principal, since Indian Affairs had managed to come up with the money to build "a comfortable Kindergarten in Cardston, for the integrated children." Although a housing unit for teachers, an extension to the school block, and a Kindergarten space had been on the residential school budget for the past three years, "to-date we have received none of these; repeat: none of these."[78] The Cardston residence did not close until 1988.[79]

However, some money was spent on the schools. In 1967, Indian Affairs reported:

> An extensive program of modernizing the residential schools was carried out, particularly with respect to mechanical equipment. Additional funds were provided to enable the principals of the schools to conform, insofar as possible, with provincial standards concerning the staff required to maintain and operate mechanical equipment.[80]

The phrase "insofar as possible" is not insignificant in this sentence: it is clear that Indian Affairs was not providing enough funding to allow all schools to meet the provincial standards for the training of such specialized employees as operating engineers.

From 1959 to 1968, over $150,000 was spent on repairs at the Sept-Îles, Quebec, school. The school had opened only in 1955. In 1968, $50,000 needed to be spent on a sprinkler system. From 1959–60 to 1965–66, Indian Affairs spent $380,000 on repairs

to the Roman Catholic school at Cardston on the Blood Reserve. It was apparently the most money spent on any residential school in Canada for that period."[1]

Despite the spending, from the perspective of the school principals, the buildings continued to decline. A 1967 brief from the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences—which included principals of both Catholic and Protestant schools—contained an extensive listing of government failure to invest in the upkeep of residential schools. The principal of the Le Pas, Quebec, school, J. E. Driedl, wrote that "since there was said to have been an amenity cut of one quarter of a million dollars while the school was being built, there are a lot of deficiencies which have been brought to the Department's attention. Elevators and facilities are cheap and hard to keep in repair." At the time, the Le Pas school was less than ten years old. Pointe Bleue, Quebec, principal C. Courtois complained of "another delays, postponements, refunds, etc., in obtaining improvements, necessary changes or additions for this residential school." Birtle principal N. M. Simms wrote that, for four years, he had been unable to get approval to have the front steps to the main building repaired, even though they were "a protection hazard." At the Misericordia, Sandy Bay, school, the Brightnose and Cook One children were being taught in a converted granary (a building for storing grain), a condition that Principal I. Lloyd described as "totally unsuitable and a disgrace to Indian Affairs." David Lawson wrote that at the Prince Albert, Sandy Bay, school, "the old style army barracks, which house the majority of the students, are in ... dire need of replacement. ... It is also true that the electric wiring, plumbing, windows, floors, showers, heat in the old building, are in very poor condition." The Brantford, Sandy Bay, school had been waiting for a new gymnasium since 1958. Kamsack, Sandy Bay, principal Edmond Turenne reported, "The heating system has hardly been touched since the construction ... in 1927. Steam pipes are so clogged up that its water sections of the building hardly any steam manages to circulate." At Blue Quills, Alberta, some students were being taught in a converted chicken coop, and the Kindergarten class in the Roman Catholic school in Cardston was held in a flood-prone church basement.

The overall conclusion of the report from the National Association of Principals and Administrators was: "In the years that the Churches have been involved in the administration of the schools, there has been a steady deterioration in essential services. Year after year, complaints, demands and requests for improvements have, in the main, fallen upon deaf ears." The principals also recommended that the residential schools were being financially starved in order to provide additional funds for the joint agreements with provincial governments that were essential to the Indian Affairs program of integrating students into the public schools.[2]

When E. A. Côté, the deputy minister responsible for Indian Affairs, met with church and school representatives to discuss the brief, he told them that "capital expenditures would be drastically curtailed as federal day schools where provincial integration would

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

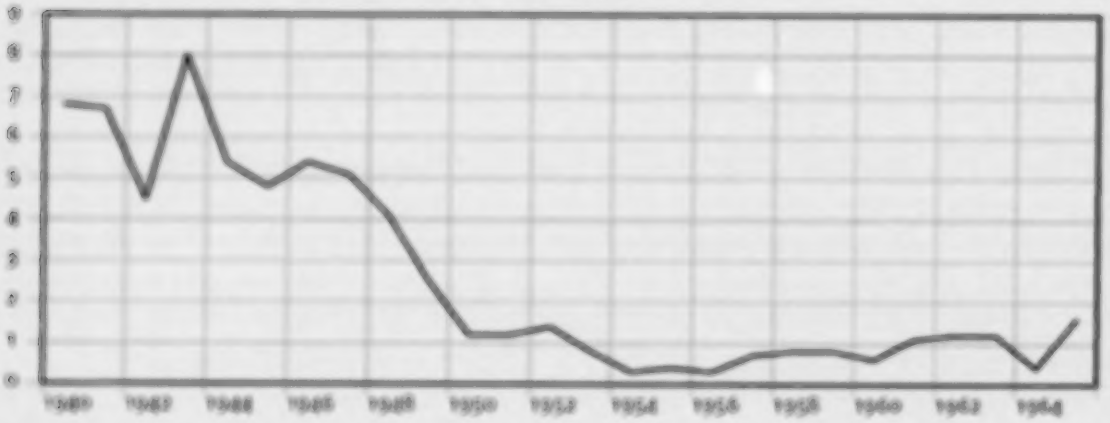
CHAPTER 36

Health: 1940–2000

Tuberculosis and the exceptionally high death rates it left in its wake were the predominant health issue in residential schools for the system's first seventy years. These rates had begun to decline by 1940, and they dropped rapidly after 1945 as effective tuberculosis antibiotics became available.

As part of its work, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has created a Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students (the "Named Register") and a Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Residential School Students (the "Unnamed Register"). The first register contains reports on the deaths of students whose names the TRC has been able to identify. The Commission commissioned a statistical analysis of the registers in January 2015. According to that analysis, for the period from 1940 to 2000, there were 647 reported deaths on the Named Register and 88 deaths on the Unnamed Register, for a total of 691 identified deaths for this period. It should be stressed that these figures are likely to represent an underestimate of the number of student deaths that occurred during this period. Graph 36.1 shows the assessed death rate for 1,000 students of the Named and Unnamed registers combined for the period from 1940 to 1965. (Due to a change in the way Indian Affairs reported enrollments, it was not possible to calculate death rates per enrolled students after 1965.)

Graph 36.1
Residential school death rates (Named and Unnamed registers combined) per 1,000 students, 1940–1965



Source: Bennett et al., "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

As can be seen, the death rate declined significantly by the end of the 1940s.

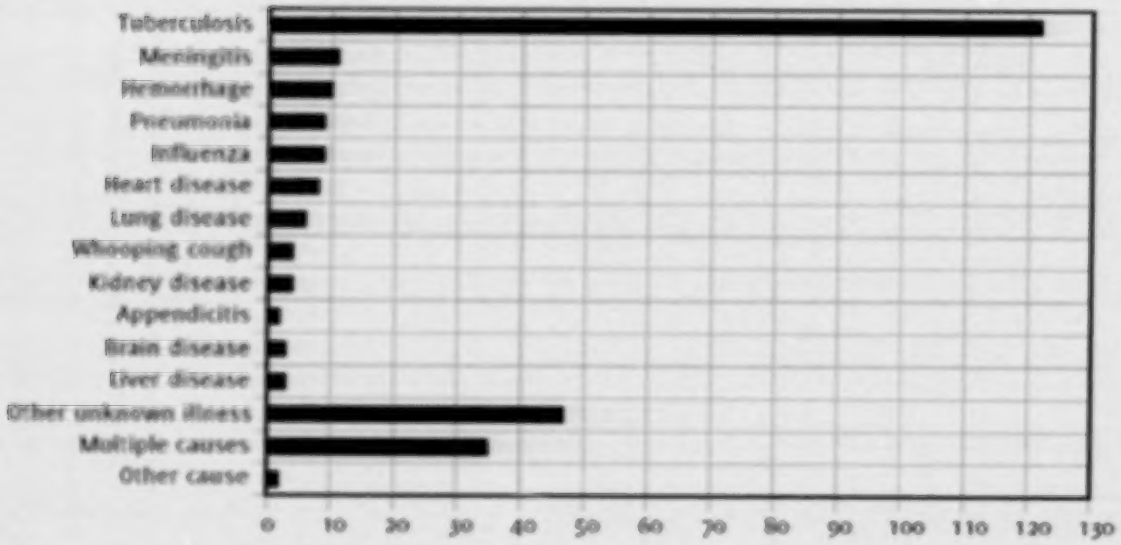
For approximately 45% of the deaths that the TRC has identified in this period (Named and Unnamed registers combined), there was no recorded cause of death. In those cases in which there was a cause of death recorded, tuberculosis was by far the single most prevalent cause of death, accounting for 39.7% of the deaths identified by the statistical analysis for the period from 1940 to 2000 (Graph 36.2).

These diagnoses of the cause of death may not have been accurate. For example, it may be that cases of meningitis were tubercular in origin. Hemorrhage is not an illness, but the result of an illness or injury. Severe hemorrhaging was not uncommon in cases of tuberculosis. These illnesses are also linked in other ways: tuberculosis, for example, can lead to pneumonia.

Graph 36.3 shows the dramatic decline in the tuberculosis death rate from 1940 to 1965.

The overall decline in the death rates, and in the tuberculosis death rate in particular, was an important and positive development. But, as other chapters in this section make clear, even after 1940, the residential school system still failed to address many of the underlying determinants of residential school student health. Buildings were poorly maintained, sanitation was limited and often ineffective, fire safety was ignored, and diets were inadequate. It was not until 1957 that the federal government adopted a funding system that was intended to provide schools with a budget that allowed them to supply the students with nutritionally adequate diets and a sufficient supply of clothing.

Graph 36.2
Causes of residential school deaths by illness (contributing and sole causes combined; Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1940–2000



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Graph 36.3
Residential school tuberculosis death rate per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1940–1965

Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

After reviewing the treatment of tuberculosis in schools during this period, this chapter addresses the presence of other diseases and illnesses in the schools and the degree to which the schools contributed to health problems. It also highlights certain questions relating to the adequacy of care. In the case of dental care, into the 1960s, the service focused almost solely on addressing fillings and removals, as opposed to preventive care. Mental health issues went unattended as residential schools were increasingly obliged to care for high-needs children in institutions that were understaffed and under-resourced.

Two other interrelated issues are also discussed: a growing recognition that school principals were not in fact the legal guardians of the students; and the fact that doctors and scientists were not just caring for students, but also were using them as subjects for research. In many cases, the schools failed to secure the consent of parents prior to their children's being subjected to treatment or being used in ongoing research. This failure is attributable to many factors, but one of the most significant is the paternalistic and colonial view that Aboriginal parents were simply unable to make intelligent, informed decisions on matters affecting their children's future. The chapter ends with a review of incidents that led to students' being injured, sometimes fatally. As a whole, these incidents underscore the continuing lack of supervision and funding for the schools after 1940.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis and Aboriginal people: Post-1940

In 1940, tuberculosis was the prime cause of death among First Nations people in Canada, just as it had been forty years earlier. It was also the prime cause of death among residential school students. Canada was also on the verge of a large-scale tuberculosis epidemic among its Inuit people, who had only recently begun to move off the land into permanent settlements. An Inuit tuberculosis death rate of 314 per 100,000 was identified in 1945.[1] It would climb to 569 in 1952.[2]

In coming years, all these rates would drop dramatically. In 1943, the First Nations tuberculosis death rate was 662.6 per 100,000; by 1957, it was 42.0 per 100,000.[3] By 1960, tuberculosis had been dislodged from its position as the prime cause of death among First Nations people, falling to eighth position.[4] The Inuit rate had undergone a similar decline. From 569 per 100,000 in 1952, it fell to 84 per 100,000 in 1960.[5] Tables 36.1 and 36.2 provide an overview of the changes in the First Nations and Inuit death rates during this period, and Table 36.3 makes comparisons with the national tuberculosis death rate.

Table 36.1. First Nations tuberculosis death rates, per 100,000 population, 1943–1953.

Year	First Nations tuberculosis death rates (per 100,000 population)
1943	662.6
1944	605.0
1945	565.7
1946	579.1
1947	549.8
1948	488.5
1949	399.6
1950	298.8
1951	268.2
1952	167.5
1953	100.0

Source: Canada, TRC, NRA, No document file location, no document file source, The Department of Health and National Welfare Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1955, 83. [AEMR-251213]

Table 36.2. Inuit tuberculosis death rates, per 100,000 population, 1950–1960.

Year	Inuit tuberculosis death rates (per 100,000 population)
1950	411
1951	327
1952	569
1953	369
1954	211
1955	169
1956	232
1957	179
1958	126
1959	53
1960	84

Source: Statistics Canada, reproduced in Grygier, *Long Way from Home*, 84.

Table 36.3. National tuberculosis death rates per 100,000 population, 1953–1957.

Population	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
All Canada	12.3	10.3	8.9	7.8	7.1
Inuit	369	211	169	232	179
Registered Indians	100.3	60.2	53.1	39.6	42.0

(Yukon and Northwest Territories excluded prior to 1957. Nova Scotia rates based on "persons of Indian Origin.")

Source: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3132, file 861-2-1, part 1, section B: Special Tuberculosis Statistics; [NPC-625218i] Statistics Canada, reproduced in Grygier, *Long Way from Home*, 84.

There is no single explanation for the decline. In the case of First Nations people, the decline started in the late 1940s.[6] This reduction could not be attributed to federal health policy: as late as 1937, Indian Affairs Director Dr. Harold McGill had announced that as part of a cost-cutting effort, there would be no funding for tuberculosis surveys or for treatment in sanatoria or hospitals for First Nations people suffering from chronic tuberculosis.[7]

Under pressure from anti-tuberculosis societies across the country, the government dropped this extreme position and made a limited investment in fighting First Nations tuberculosis.[8] By 1940, the government had purchased and converted a hospital in Dynevor, Manitoba, to be used as a sanatorium for First Nations people. As a result, it could report that "582 Indian patients were receiving treatment [for tuberculosis] in institutions."[9] The following year, isolation wards were opened on Manitoulin Island, Ontario; hospitals in Norway House and Fisher River, Manitoba, were expanded; and the former United Church school near Chilliwack, British Columbia, was converted to a sanatorium. Hospital treatment for tuberculosis was provided in that year to 1,488 First Nations people.[10] Despite these improvements, in 1943, Indian Affairs reported:

> Tuberculosis continued to be the leading cause of death among Indians. Death rates from this disease are from ten to thirty times higher than among the white population. During the year over 1,500 Indians were treated for this disease in hospitals and sanatoria, with an average of slightly over 800 under treatment.

Even though, by this point, Indian Affairs was operating fourteen Indian hospitals, there was a serious shortage of sanatorium beds for First Nations patients.[11] In 1944, Indian Affairs estimated that it was short about 1,500 beds for First Nations tuberculosis patients.[12]

Dr. E. L. Stone, who had been the superintendent of Indian Affairs' medical service since 1927, rejoined the Canadian military at the start of the Second World War in 1939.[13] His successor was Dr. P. E. Moore, who had served as Indian Affairs' assistant superintendent of medical services.[14] At the war's end, the Indian Affairs medical service was transferred to the Department of National Health and Welfare.[15] The newly created Indian and Northern Health Services (sometimes called "Indian Health Services") was given responsibility for both First Nations and Inuit health.[16]

The transfer was viewed as a rebuke of Indian Affairs and was a source of tension between it and the health department.[17] Under Dr. Moore's direction, the branch was doubtful about the effectiveness of church-run hospitals, particularly in the North. This suspicion led Moore to oppose the establishment of sanatoria in the North—a position that would lead to thousands of Inuit and First Nations patients' being sent south for tuberculosis treatment in coming years.[18] At its creation, Indian and Northern Health Services operated sixteen hospitals, and employed twenty-seven

full-time doctors, twenty-four field nurses, and over 700 physicians on a part-time basis.[19] Tuberculosis control was the services' major challenge.

Tuberculin, an extract of the tuberculosis bacterium, was used to conduct what was commonly referred to as a "scratch test" to test for the presence of tuberculosis bacteria.[20] The bacille Calmette-Guérin (BCG) vaccine was increasingly used to vaccinate children in populations with a high risk of developing tuberculosis.[21] The BCG vaccine does not provide absolute protection (recent studies have suggested its effectiveness is between 75% and 80%). Neither does it prevent the development of tuberculosis in people already infected with the bacteria.[22]

Increased efforts were placed on identifying active tuberculosis cases in First Nations communities. In 1949, a federal tuberculosis control plan for Manitoba called for the X-raying of all First Nations people in 1949 and 1950. Follow-up X-rays were to be taken every two years. First Nations people admitted to hospital were to be X-rayed, and all First Nations schoolchildren were to be X-rayed annually. All people working with First Nations people were also to be X-rayed annually.

Under the federal plan, testing was to be extended to the point where all children under the age of sixteen would get the scratch test, and all those who tested negative would be vaccinated with BCG.[23] Tuberculin and BCG were effective for prevention; they were not treatments.

Streptomycin, the first effective tuberculosis antibiotic, was developed in the 1940s. Its initial effectiveness was limited, since the tuberculosis bacterium was able to develop a resistance to the drug. In the late 1940s, this problem was largely overcome by the introduction of para-aminosalicylic salts (PAS) and isoniazid (INH) to the treatment process. Patients who had been diagnosed as being near death began recovering. Streptomycin had to be injected, but the other drugs could be taken orally. They required a treatment period of eighteen months to two years.[24] The national death rate from tuberculosis (non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal) fell from 51.4 per 100,000 of population in 1940 to 26.8 per 100,000 in 1950, to 4.6 per 100,000 in 1960.[25]

By 1955, the First Nations death rate in Manitoba was a tenth of what it had been a decade earlier. The number of infections did not decline as rapidly as the death rate; the new case rate fell by only 50% during this period.[26] This was part of a general trend. Dr. G. J. Wherrett, the executive secretary of the Canadian Tuberculosis Society, noted in 1957 that while tuberculosis death rates were at the lowest recorded level, the incidence rates of tuberculosis remained high.[27]

Although the First Nations death rate had been dramatically reduced, it was still much higher than the national tuberculosis death rate. In the Foothills Region, the tuberculosis rate among the Aboriginal population was still twenty to forty times higher than among the non-Aboriginal population. (The Foothills Region included Alberta, the Yukon, and the Mackenzie Valley.) In 1962, a revised tuberculosis control program for the region was put in place. It called for annual chest X-rays of the

First Nations population of Alberta, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories. Newborns were to be vaccinated with BCG before leaving hospital or shortly thereafter. Within three months of being vaccinated, they were to be given a tuberculin test. All children under six were to be given a tuberculin test, and all schoolchildren were to be tested annually.[33]

The government response to the tuberculosis epidemic among the Inuit was two-pronged: 1) x-ray the entire Inuit population to identify active cases; and 2) vaccinate the rest of the population.[34] The active cases were taken either by ship or air for treatment, often to Québec City or Edmonton, although Inuit were placed in sanatoria throughout the country.[35] The government efforts to keep track of patients and to keep families informed of the health of family members sent south for treatment were largely ineffective. The medical examinations often took place aboard a government medical patrol ship. In some cases, individuals who were diagnosed with tuberculosis were not allowed to return to shore to say goodbye or arrange for the care of their family members. Instead, they were kept on board and taken south for treatment.[36] The Inuit death rate was reduced, but, as Pat Grygier, the historian of the anti-tuberculosis campaign among the 1,578 Inuit, observed, many of the Inuit

> were unable successfully to resume their previous way of life, either because of the physical effects of their disease or its treatment, or because of the difficulties of readjustment after so long a time in the south. Young children out for three or four years faced particular difficulties, for they had virtually become young southerners, who in many cases were unable to speak their parents' language and had no idea of how to behave in the demanding environment of a northern hunting community.[37]

By the 1960s, the number of First Nations people being treated in sanatoria was declining. In April 1965, there were nineteen adults and twelve children being treated for tuberculosis at the Fort Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital. It was expected that by the end of summer, the number would be down to approximately twenty patients. Given that the Saskatchewan provincial sanatorium had sufficient capacity to hold 100 new First Nations admissions a year, plans were made to transfer all cases to the provincial sanatorium.[38]

Even in the 1960s, however, there were severe outbreaks of tuberculosis in Aboriginal communities. Thirty-three of eighty-four students from the Arviat (then known as "Eskimo Point") day school in the Northwest Territories (which had a small residence) were in the Clearwater, Manitoba, sanatorium in 1963.[39] Between September 1966 and March 1967, twenty-five people had to be evacuated from the same community for treatment for tuberculosis.[40]

Despite these improvements, by the end of the twentieth century, when the last of the residential schools had been closed, tuberculosis still remained more prevalent among Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal Canadians.[41] According to one study, in 2004,

the tuberculosis incidence rate for Aboriginal people in Canada was 23.8 per 100,000; the rate for the entire Canadian population was 5.0 per 100,000.[37]

Controlling tuberculosis in the residential schools

As described in a previous volume of this report, by the late 1930s, the federal government had finally begun to implement a serious program intended to reduce the level of tuberculosis in residential schools. Key elements of such a program were proper medical examinations of new students to screen out those with active tuberculosis, regular screening of the student body to detect cases of active tuberculosis, and BCG vaccinations to protect non-infected students. Despite the intensive work that had begun in the late 1930s, tuberculosis remained a threat in the early 1940s.

In 1940, there had been an epidemic of typhoid fever at the Norway House, Manitoba, residential school, which was followed by a number of cases of pulmonary tuberculosis.[38] In 1943, Ed Blewmner, the principal of the Hobbema, Alberta, school, reported that six of the eighteen students who had been discharged in 1938 were now deceased. Although the cause of death was not given, three of the twelve former students who were still alive were also still suffering from tuberculosis.[39] That same year, a survey of the Morley, Alberta, school revealed what Dr. A. H. Baker described as "an alarming number of cases of active, gross tuberculosis." Baker recommended that a number of students be either hospitalized or isolated from other students, that the non-tubercular students be screened in a few months, and that staff be tested.[40] A follow-up investigation, which included the testing of many community residents, concluded that "the source of the outbreak of tuberculosis among the school children has been from contact with the school since so many of the families do not show any evidence."[41]

Throughout the 1940s, annual tuberculosis clinics continued to be held at many schools in an effort to identify and remove students with active tuberculosis.[42] In Ontario, the Tuberculosis Control Division of the Ontario health ministry ran the clinics.[43] In other cases, provincial health departments ran the clinics.[44] A tuberculosis survey of the Fort Frances, Ontario, school in January 1940 led to five children's being recommended for sanatorium treatment.[45] The following month, it was recommended that four children from the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, and one child from the Catholic school in the same community be sent to a sanatorium.[46] In March, two sanatorium cases were identified in the Chapleau, Ontario, school.[47] One of the students recommended for sanatorium care in January was still in the Fort Frances school in June.[48] In 1941, a survey of the Fort William, Ontario, school identified three students in need of sanatorium care.[49] That same year, a survey recommended that another student from the Chapleau school be sent to a sanatorium.[50] After a 1941

[illegible] children at the Moose Lookout, Ontario, school were thought to be in need of treatment in a sanatorium.[1] After a survey of the Mohawk, Ontario, school in the fall of 1941, one student was identified as being in need of sanatorium care.[2] A student from the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school was identified for sanatorium treatment in 1941.[3] After an x-ray clinic at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school, also in 1941, eight students were sent to the Indian Hospital in Nanaimo, British Columbia.[4] Similar surveys had similar results in 1942 and 1943.[5]

A survey taken in 1949 at the Hobbema, Alberta, school found thirty-eight active or inactive cases of tuberculosis among the school's 120 students—almost a third of them.[6] It was recommended that six of these students be either hospitalized or sent to a sanatorium.[7] By the mid-1950s, at the Chapleau school, the students were being x-rayed on admission. In addition, chest clinics were held twice a year. At these clinics, students who had a positive reaction to the tuberculin skin test were also x-rayed.[8] In other schools, the impact of a variety of preventive measures was beginning to be felt. By 1962, all the students at the Edmonton school were being x-rayed annually and new students were given a tuberculin test. In January 1963, one student was recommended for sanatorium care.[9] The 1962 survey of the Edmonton school reported that "for the second year in succession, there are no cases requiring sanatorium treatment."[10]

However, x-ray services, which played an important role in identifying active cases, were not always available. Fraser Lake, British Columbia, principal A. R. Simpson reported in March 1946 that it had not been possible to have the students x-rayed that year. He was certain that there were "some very active T.B. cases among the children that should be detected and isolated."[11] In November 1946, approximately 100 students at the Presbyterian school in Kenora received positively to a tuberculin test.[12] The Ontario government's Tuberculosis Control Division was not able to provide x-ray services at the school, due to lack of staff.[13] In June 1947, it was reported that there were six students at the Mohawk school who required sanatorium treatment. Two of the cases were described as appearing to be "of long standing." In raising the issue with the Ontario Tuberculosis Control Division, Dr. D. C. Mather of the Fort William Sanatorium indicated that there was a need to x-ray students at both the Moose Lookout and Mohawk schools.[14] One of the problems in controlling tuberculosis in the schools was the ongoing admission of infected students.

Screening for admission

A policy requiring that residential school students undergo a medical examination prior to admission had been in place since the 1920s.[15] Despite this, into the 1950s, as some cases, such examinations were perfunctory, ineffective, or non-existent. Responsibility for this failure appears to have been shared between Indian Affairs and

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Lestock, Saskatchewan, school were vaccinated with BCG in 1948, leading to a low number of students testing positive for tuberculosis in 1949.[45] By the mid-1950s, Indian Health Services had adopted a BCG vaccination policy for the control of tuberculosis among the First Nations population in Saskatchewan. The goal was to vaccinate all First Nations newborns before, starting in the 1955–56 school year, all students were to be given a tuberculin test at school to detect the presence of the bacteria. Those who tested negative were to be vaccinated.[46] Campaigns of this nature had a significant impact. A 1957 survey of the Kenaston Catholic school at Goodsoil, Alberta, observed that of 229 students, 195 had no evidence of tuberculosis, and neither were there any reported cases of active tuberculosis.[47]

The presence of tuberculosis in the schools continued to decline. In 1968, 93% of the 8 kindergarten class at the Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, school tested negative for tuberculosis.[48] The disease was not, however, non-existent. In 1968, a "minimal active case" of tuberculosis was reported at the Birtle, Manitoba, school. There was also a case of reactivated tuberculosis at the Assiniboia School in Winnipeg. In this case, the student had been admitted to the school without having undergone an initial medical examination. Both students were placed in the Ninette, Manitoba, sanatorium.[49]

Residential school students were still being diagnosed with, and treated for, tuberculosis in 1970.[50] Treatment practices were changing considerably: sanatoria were being closed and tuberculosis patients were being treated in general hospitals and in their own communities on a walk-in basis. The number of young people being treated at the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton had declined to the point in 1970 that consideration was given to re-evaluating the need for the in-hospital school program for patients.[51] In 1972, an annual tuberculin test, BCG vaccination, and x-ray programs were still in long consideration as student surveillance in Saskatchewan.[52] In 1973, 8,958 First Nations and Inuit people were vaccinated with BCG and an additional 2,872 persons were revaccinated. In that same year, 385 new tuberculosis cases were identified among First Nations and Inuit people. Of these, 138 were among people nineteen years of age and younger.[53]

Before moving to the other illnesses and diseases that took more to residential schools during this period, it is important to note that although the tuberculosis death rate was brought down through medical intervention, little was done to address the socio-economic issues that continued to leave so many Aboriginal people vulnerable to the disease. Unhealthy water was to blame supply, contamination was pervasive, and housing was both insufficient to supply and inadequate in construction.[54] In 1970, the journalist Heather Robertson wrote a lengthy and detailed book about conditions on reserves across Canada. Her description of housing on the Fisher River Reserve in Manitoba is illustrative of the conditions that she observed.

> [illegible] houses have only [illegible] bedrooms, three or four children, and in families are without shelter altogether. People are forced to double up and sometimes

> triple-up with relatives and friends. A house inadequate for a family of five holds 15 people in Rooms. The shacks are uninhabitable—no insulation, no floor, no furniture, often no windows—but people live in them because nothing else is available."[32]

Such conditions bred ill health. Robertson wrote, "Pneumonia, bronchitis, colds, sinus trouble and intestinal infections are chronic and general on Rooseau Reserve, the unavoidable result of cheap, badly heated homes, overcrowding and poor sanitation."[33]

It was from these communities and with these illnesses that students continued to be recruited into residential schools. And, into the 1960s, these schools were often cheaply constructed, badly heated, overcrowded, and plagued with deficient sanitation.

Other diseases

Poor health in First Nations communities, coupled with limited screening, meant that sick children continued to bring other communicable diseases into residential schools, even as the tuberculosis death rate was being reduced. Overcrowding and inadequate sanitation meant that these illnesses could spread quickly. The conditions were not limited to schools in remote locations or to the period of wartime economy. As the following example demonstrates, they were still present in schools in urban centres during periods of sustained economic growth.

In May 1950, a young girl living at the Fort William, Ontario, school was hospitalized with an ear infection. A test showed that she was carrying virulent diphtheria organisms—in other words, although she was not suffering from diphtheria, she was a carrier of the disease. The matter was reported to Dr. M. R. Warren, the director of the local provincial health office. He tested the students at the school, which had 115 residents, and discovered that 22 of them were in need of treatment for diphtheria. The outbreak had been brought under control by the end of the summer, but in the fall, he undertook a second round of testing and found that ten more students were carriers of the disease.

He also undertook a quick investigation of conditions in the school and prepared a highly critical report for the Ontario director of child welfare. He wrote that the school was overcrowded by nearly 100% in terms of floor space and by more than 300% in terms of the cubic space available. Many of the residents slept in dormitories on the third and fourth floors of the building, which, he said, was not in keeping with a *Charitable Institutions Act* regulation prohibiting sleeping quarters above the second floor.

There were no provisions for isolating young people with communicable diseases. As far as he could tell, there was "no routine medical examination to rule out the

possibility of communicable disease." He said the dishwashing facilities at the school "would not be permitted in any other eating establishment in this area. The dishes are washed at each table of four in a pan of water." In his letter, Warren pointed out that six of the school residents attended a local high school, meaning "the Lakehead could be affected via this route." Upon discharge, students were likely to spread infection "in each of their remote communities." He concluded by noting that it appeared to him that the sister superior of the school needed guidance on admission procedures and the treatment of children with communicable diseases.[101]

Most new students generally arrived without having undergone a medical examination, and were rarely given one after admission. Indian Affairs admitted that it was not possible to have students in remote communities given a medical examination prior to their being sent to the school, but made a commitment to see that one was undertaken upon their arrival. Dr. Warren pointed out that so many agencies were involved in the school that "one Agency did not know what the other was doing and no standard practices had been evolved." Representatives of the other agencies placing children in the school made similar commitments. (Half of the children at the residence had status under the *Indian Act*, and the rest were non-status Indians, mostly wards of the children's aid societies of Fort William and Port Arthur.)[103] One of the apparent benefits of the attention that Warren drew to the school was the Indian Affairs decision to increase the per capita grant from $375 to $575 a year.[104]

A decades-old pattern was still being repeated: lack of screening led to the admission of sick children. Overcrowding and poor sanitation allowed the infection to spread. Staff members were not trained to deal with the illness, agencies were unaware of the problems, and federal funds were inadequate.

Other illnesses coursed through the schools, taxing their resources. Fraser Lake, British Columbia, principal A. R. Simpson reported in March 1946 that the past winter

> had been the worst period with regard to the health of children in all my experience here. Early in February we had a flu epidemic with about 65 children being in bed at the same time. This was almost cleared up when another outbreak occurred at the beginning of March, during which we had 145 children in bed simultaneously with four Sisters and several other members of staff.

He said that Indian Affairs had ignored his requests for vitamins for the children.[102]

Twenty-two years later, a terse telex message to federal health authorities reported: "OUTBREAK INFLUENZA LA TUQUE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL. REV J E DE WOLF PRINCPAL COMPLAINING LACK OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND IGNORANCE AS TO AVAILABILITY OF NURSING AND MEDICAL CARE." Federal health officials reported that supplies would be dispatched that day.[105]

When the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school was hit with measles in June 1940, the students initially were not allowed to go home at the end of the school year.[106] In

January 1941, there were outbreaks of measles at the Hobbema, Alberta, school and at the Gordon's and Lestock schools in Saskatchewan.[110] In April 1950, the Presbyterian school at Kenora had a rubella (German measles) epidemic, with cases varying from "a mild respiratory upset with minimal rash to a rather severe attack with Herpes Simplex, Tonsillitis, Cervical Adonitis and Bronchitis." One student had to be hospitalized for bronchial pneumonia.[111]

There were outbreaks of hepatitis at the schools at Inuvik, Northwest Territories (1961); Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia (1962); Lytton, British Columbia (1962); Fraser Lake, British Columbia (1962); Mission, British Columbia (1962); Hobbema, Alberta (1962); Portage la Prairie, Manitoba (1964); Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (1964 and 1967); Brandon, Manitoba (1964); Dauphin, Manitoba (1964); Duck Lake, Saskatchewan (1966 and 1967); and La Tuque, Québec (1970).[112] In many of these cases, students were inoculated with gamma globulin (a mixture of blood plasma proteins that includes antibodies, given to enhance immunity). Visits to the schools might be limited or the schools might be placed under quarantine; students were required to dip their hands in disinfectant after using the toilet, and toothbrushes were dipped in mouthwash.[113]

A meningitis outbreak in 1956 led to both of the Cardston, Alberta, schools' being placed under quarantine.[114] Two years later, there was a case of cerebrospinal meningitis at the McIntosh, Ontario, school.[115] Fifty-five students came down with bronchitis at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora in 1950. Although none were seriously ill, quarantine was put in place to stop the spread of infection.[116] In 1969, an outbreak of meningitis in the community of Mistassini led to the La Tuque, Québec, school's being placed under quarantine. The staff and students—a total of 364 people—were confined to the school and provided with preventive medication.[117]

Trachoma (a contagious eye disease) returned to some schools. Nurse Kathleen Stewart reported that because preventive measures had been dispensed with during the war, there was a serious outbreak of trachoma at the Birtle, Manitoba, school in the early 1940s. She wrote: "Thousands of sulfanilamide tablets were obtained from the Indian Health Services, and a campaign on the reservations found and treated the sources of infection. The results were a marked improvement in achievement in the school and no more trachoma."[118]

Poliomyelitis, more commonly referred to as "polio," reached epidemic proportions across Canada on several occasions between 1940 and 1960. An effective vaccine for treating the virus was not developed until the mid-1950s.[119] During the 1941 outbreak, government officials considered closing the residential schools, but decided against the measure. Medical officers were instructed to monitor the schools carefully for the appearances of any new cases and to prohibit children from leaving and then returning. Restrictions were also placed on visits to the schools. Senior Indian Affairs health official P. E. Moore argued that "children would be better in the school where

they can be under supervision than running around their reserves or hanging around near-by towns."[120] Despite this policy, residential schools in the prairie provinces did not immediately reopen at the beginning of the 1941–42 school year.[121] After consulting with provincial officials, Indian Affairs official M. Christianson concluded that the schools "may be kept open but visiting and mingling with the school children must be banned."[122] The Aklavik schools in the Northwest Territories were closed for two weeks at the beginning of the 1951–52 school year, due to the presence of a suspected case of polio in the community.[123] In 1953, the two schools in Kenora, Ontario, were placed under quarantine because of a polio outbreak in the region.[124] The outbreak was so serious in Sioux Lookout that part of the school was serving as a hospital to treat students who had contracted the virus.[125] Eventually, twenty-one students from the Sioux Lookout school were admitted to the Sioux Lookout Indian Hospital with a diagnosis of poliomyelitis.[126] In 1955, Northern Affairs undertook a campaign to have all the children between the ages of one and fifteen vaccinated against polio.[127]

In later years, outbreaks of serious diseases declined in frequency but did not disappear. There were, for example, fifty cases of the mumps at the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school in 1967.[128] As late as 1990, an outbreak of influenza in Cambridge Bay, in the Northwest Territories, led to a brief school closing.[129]

The schools as sources of illness

In some cases, it was the conditions within the schools themselves that bred illness. In the fall of 1941, Indian Affairs inspector G. J. Buck reported that at the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school, the

> temperature of all the seven classrooms is much too low for pupil health and good work. The average for the four days of the inspection was between 54 and 56 degrees Fahrenheit [12 and 13 degrees Celsius, respectively]. It felt really cold. By actual count over 75% of the 264 children had colds in one form or another, and according to the Principal had had them for several weeks.

Buck said similar problems had been reported the previous year, but nothing had been done about it.[130] School principal M. Bretagne said the weather had been fair at the time of Buck's visit and there had been no need to heat the buildings excessively. He said that the students had not caught colds at the school, but had been sick when they returned to school in the fall.[131]

Dr. A. B. Simes, the medical superintendent of the Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital in Saskatchewan, conducted an investigation into parental complaints about conditions at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school in 1944. He found their concerns to be completely justified:

> I regret to have to report that I never anticipated finding conditions in any school as existed in the Elkhorn Residential School. Mr. Cornelius Bigwell's statement, made to Mr. D. J. Allan, sums up the situation perfectly when he says:
>
> "While it was admitted that living conditions in an Indian village were not of a very high standard, they were much less crude, much less insanitary [sic] and much more convenient than their children enjoyed at the Elkhorn School."
>
> The indians [sic] have every justification to complain. They are to be congratulated on the gentlemanly manner of action taken to have matters remedied. This lack of supervision and interest in the school and pupils as well as mismanagement, is not of recent origin. It has been going on for and [sic] indefinite period.[132]

It was not until 1949 that this school, which had a long history of problems, was finally closed.[133]

The antiquated sewage system at Moose Factory, Ontario, led to a "serious outbreak of typhoid fever among the staff and the pupils" in 1947.[134] Three years later, Dr. B. H. Harper of the Moose Factory Indian Hospital pointed out that the sewage system was still inadequate. He wrote that in the spring and fall of 1949, fluids from the septic tank were "seeping through the grounds in the immediate vicinity of the back door of the school and the odour caused thereby both outside and inside the building was most repulsive." In 1950, it was necessary to hospitalize a number of students who had "developed rashes due to uncleanliness."[135]

An unnamed federal health official wrote in 1962 that there had been a steady stream of illness at the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec, over the previous five years. He attributed the problem to poor management.

> General uncleanliness, impetigo, pediculosis, scabies and everything else that comes along. This situation has broken the heart of every sincere nurse that we have yet had there. I did visit the management and pointed out the shortcomings and got a promise of improvement, which for some reason or other I must not get overly enthusiastic about ever happening.[136]

A federal health department official wrote in 1966 that sewage in Stuart Lake constituted a health hazard for students at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school. He recommended that a 1964 proposal to chlorinate the water supply at the school be implemented as soon as possible.[137] In the same year, raw sewage from the Assumption, Alberta, school was feared to be polluting the Gun River, placing families that lived downstream at risk.[138] In 1966, a medical health officer gave a notice to close the Roman Catholic school in The Pas, Manitoba, unless a sewage issue was dealt with immediately.[139] In 1968, there was an outbreak of intestinal illness at the McIntosh, Ontario, school because the treatment system was both inadequate and operated intermittently.[140]

An inspection of the Grayson, Saskatchewan, school in 1979 noted that some of the refrigerators lacked thermostats and other refrigerators were set at temperatures that were too high.[141] An outbreak of salmonella (bacteria-based food poisoning) in 1989 affected forty-four people at the Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, residence. Twenty-four of those had to be hospitalized. An investigation into the residence kitchen concluded that the outbreak was likely the result of a combination of poor food handling, a lack of dependable equipment (the refrigerators did not keep food cool enough), and understaffing (untrained staff were often pressed into service in the kitchen).[142]

Quality of care

As noted earlier, medical officials with Indian Affairs had a poor opinion of the medical services provided at church-run facilities. In 1942, Indian Affairs official P. E. Moore expressed his dissatisfaction with the continued operation of a small building referred to as a "hospital" that was attached to the Fort Albany, Ontario, school. Moore said that he had "no knowledge as to whether or not any of the Sisters [of Charity, who were staffing the facility] are graduate nurses." He was disturbed to discover that students were being diagnosed by people who were not doctors and that Indian Affairs was paying hospital rates for students who were being cared for in this facility. He was particularly alarmed that surgeries, including surgeries on students, were being carried out there.[143]

Two decades later, an unnamed regional superintendent with the British Columbia branch of the federal Indian and Northern Health Services expressed a similar concern about the quality of the care provided in school infirmaries. He wrote in 1960 that "the infirmaries in residential schools are not at all suitable for many of the health activities we are expected to carry out."[144]

Principals were also critical of federal health services. The Oblate order reported lengthy delays in receiving authorization from Indian and Northern Health Services for needed expenses. At the Assiniboia School in Winnipeg in 1959, it took six months to get approval to purchase eyeglasses for students. André Renaud of the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission felt that because of the delay, many students "failed to progress satisfactorily during the major part of the year."[145]

In May 1961, the principal of the Roman Catholic school at The Pas, Manitoba, informed Indian Affairs that there had not been a "routine medical checkup" at the school since 1958.[146] In the mid-1960s, J. E. DeWolf, the principal of the La Tuque, Québec, school, complained that he was not able to get appropriate medical treatment for students in the school.[147] In January 1965, he reported that:

- the school was short on vitamins
- only about half of the new students had been given a proper medical assessment

- needed booster shots and vaccinations had not been given
- students who required tonsillectomies had not been operated upon[109]

In February 1965, he wrote, "We have been without vitamin pills for nearly a month. As you know to be without them is slow poison for these children, and it is most economy to deprive them of these for we will pay for it with increased sickness."[110]

Two years later, in November 1967, J. E. Y. Levaque, the principal of the Catholic school at Cardston, Alberta, complained to Indian Affairs that since the start of the school year, students had not received:

- a vision checkup (which would normally be followed by the issuing of glasses to those who needed them)
- immunizations
- a physical checkup
- a visit from a nurse to check on sores
- x-ray examinations to identify cases of tuberculosis
- vitamin pills for day students
- cough syrup, Aspirin, and other medicine for residents

On the last point, Levaque said he had been informed that a local doctor had given nurses instructions not to issue any medicine to residential schools. Despite his requests to discuss the problem, local federal health officials had been unwilling to meet with him. In frustration, he wrote, "I will accept no responsibility for harm that comes to the children under my care, because of the neglect of the National Welfare doctors and nurses."[111]

Such examples make clear that even by the late 1960s, there were still severe limitations on the range of health services being provided. The record suggests that in coming years—as the number of residential students steeply declined—the quality of service did improve. In the 1980s, students at the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan were being seen by speech and language pathologists and dentists, and undergoing vaccination (with parental consent) and vision screening.[112] In 1982, it was estimated that 50% of one staff member's time at Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife was spent on making doctor's appointments on behalf of the students.[113]

Chronic ear disease in Kenora

There are also cases of school staff working determinedly to address chronic health problems. This was the case with chronic ear disease in Kenora. Chronic ear disease among children was a serious medical issue both in Canada and the United Kingdom in the first half of the twentieth century. It was common, was difficult to treat, and often led to deafness. The disease often developed from acute ear infections. It was

also thought that the disease had a social dimension, being more prevalent among the children of low-income families.[112] Into the 1990s in Canada, certain ear infections appeared to be more common among Aboriginal children than among non-Aboriginal children.[113]

In the 1950s, one recommended method of treatment of chronic ear infection in Canada was termed "replacement therapy" because it involved replacing infected fluid in the ear with antiseptic medications.[114] The Canadian medical consensus in 1957 was that treatment should involve antibiotics, laboratory analysis of a sample of the pus or discharge from the patient's ear to identify the types of bacteria present, and surgical measures in the most severe cases.[115]

Chronic and acute ear infections appear to have been particularly severe at the Presbyterian school in Korea. Starting in the fall of 1953, Kathleen Stewart, the school nurse, worked with Dr. Al Tonzin from the Lake of the Woods Clinic and Dr. Chin Wham Ling (generally referred to as "Dr. Ling" in the documents) to address a series of ongoing ear problems experienced by students at the school.[116] Stewart had studied the care of ear disease in 1952 and kept very detailed records of the work that was carried out on children with ear disease.[117]

According to Stewart, the problems included "offensive odour of the children's breath, discharging ears, lack of sustained attention, poor enunciation when speaking and loud talking." These conditions are all indicative of chronic ear disease. Under her direction, the students were taught how to irrigate their ears using warm water. With this treatment, she reported, "Most of them cleared up in a few days and have not reoccurred."[118]

Specimens of pus from students who still had fluid discharging from their ears were sent to the Ontario Provincial Laboratory.[119] The laboratory carried out tests to determine which antibiotics were effective in individual cases.[120] In some cases, surgical treatment (the removal of tonsils and adenoids) was performed.[121] Each of the elements of this treatment was consistent with the recommended practice of the day.

A variety of medications were used. The antiseptic fluid used to treat non-chronic cases was Merthiolate, which contained mercury.[122] Merthiolate was used mainly as a topical antiseptic treatment and as a preservative in vaccines during this period. Research has since concluded that it was ineffective and, due to the presence of mercury, toxic.[123] As a result, it is no longer used as an antiseptic and its use in vaccines has been limited in North America.

Those students at Korea with perforations of the front half of the eardrum were expected to respond to treatment with ephedrine (a decongestant). It is now recognized that treatment with decongestants was not effective, although it could reduce nasal congestion. Oil drops were used to treat students with central eardrum perforations; it was reported that within a few days of flushing with water, these perforations would close. Penicillin and antibacterial drugs were used to treat students who were

complaining of pain in the area behind the ear. By the end of the school year, Stewart reported that most of the "ear drums appear to be almost normal now."[114]

Stewart and school principal Jean Robeson placed ongoing pressure on Indian Health Services officials to provide them with the support that local physicians had recommended.[115] That support was slow in coming and, it appears, offered only reluctantly.[116] In providing this treatment, Stewart was working under the supervision of both directors Guerin and Ling.[117]

In June 1924, Stewart wrote a report on the "experimentation and treatment of ear discase among 165 pupils." From September 1923 to June 1924, there had been eighty pupils with ear troubles ranging from "slight deafness due to dry wax etc. covering the ear drum to complete destruction of both ear drums accompanied by profuse discharge." She said that there had been active disease in forty cases. "After using the drugs recommended by the Provincial Laboratory most of them seem to have recovered completely and are in much better general health." At the end of the school year, the ears of all the students at the school were checked. Of these, "126 were good and could be seen without cleaning. I had small central perforations healing well, 10 were discharging, 3 of these were almost dead with no ear drums, 6 had one ear drum gone, and one was draining through a perforation."[118] In January 1925, she reported that there had been "constant change and improvement in the health of the children."[119]

The use of the word *experimentation* in Stewart's June 1924 report should not be taken to mean that the treatment at the school was part of a research project. Nothing in the record suggests that this was a research experiment or a clinical trial. It certainly received little support from Indian Affairs or Indian Health Services. There was no control group, no use of experimental drugs, and, as far as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been able to determine, no academic or research papers were published on the work. "Experimentation" in this context describes the process by which the doctors and nurses were attempting to match the treatment to the disease by having specimens of the fluid discharge from students' ears analyzed by a laboratory. As late as 1944, a World Health Organization report noted that most approaches to the treatment of chronic ear infections "have been unsatisfactory or are very expensive and difficult."[120] In this case, it would appear that the school staff, working in cooperation with local physicians and laboratory staff, sought to provide students who were suffering from a painful and potentially debilitating condition with treatment that was in accord with the standards of the day.

Dental care

In the early 1940s, most Canadians had limited access to dental care.[121] In 1945, Dr. L. V. Imrie, the chief of Health Canada's Dental Division, proposed that a dental

overwhelmed by the students' stress and did little to alleviate it. In the most extreme and tragic cases, students sought relief in drugs, alcohol, and suicide.

In the 1960s, Brandon, Manitoba, principal Ford Bond approached an unnamed federal health official with a concern about the impact of the lack of emotional care for the students. The official later provided the following summary of Bond's worries (which had been expressed to him orally):

> You are concerned about these young children because of your small, untrained staff, the lack of mothering and the regimentation that is required to keep the residence operating on a schedule. You feel, I believe, that if you had more better prepared staff, the children would be less lonely, receive more tender loving care, and have more fun and as a result be happier children and do better at school.

The official suggested that Bond get a psychiatrist to undertake an evaluation "as an exercise in the prevention of mental illness in emotionally deprived children."[114]

Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, principal P. J. Collins noted in 1963 that in the past, the school's greatest problem had been overcrowding or dealing with children who were fifteen and "could not be handled at home." Now, he felt, the school now faced a new challenge: an increasing number of "emotionally disturbed children." He said that he spent much of his time driving children to appointments in Truro and Halifax. The solution lay in securing the services of a "competent (catholic) psychiatrist who would visit the school from time to time, and advise us on the handling of so many of these children."[115]

There were few treatment options available. Some students were judged to be of borderline intelligence with an academic future. In the case of a fifteen-year-old boy, it was recommended that the principal simply wait to the end of the school year and send the boy home.[116] In the case of a girl who was described as needing intensive residential psychiatric treatment, it was felt that she should not be returned to either her home or the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school, where she had been living. According to the doctor who had examined her, there was no government facility to which she could be sent. The best he could recommend was to attempt to have her placed in a private facility in Moose Jaw.[117]

A boy from the Kamloops, British Columbia, school was described as being "diagnosed as moderately seriously disturbed." His mother had recently died and his father was described as having a drinking problem. It was proposed that he be transferred to either a special treatment facility or a foster home.[118] In another case, it was recommended that one boy, who was soon to turn nineteen and had become a disciplinary problem at the Lytton, British Columbia, school, be placed in a group home in a community that had access to a mental health centre. In the past, the boy had experienced depression and expressed suicidal tendencies. Finding such a facility proved

difficult, even though, as the Lytton principal, Anthony Harding, wrote, "rejection is the last thing he needs."[217]

A 1959 psychiatric report suggested that a student at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school be returned to his home community.[218] However, it was felt that because of his physical disabilities arising from polio, the student should remain in residential school.[219] A 1962 assessment of a boy suffering from tuberculosis, who had on a number of occasions attempted to set fire to the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, suggested that he be placed in a foster home.[220] In the 1970s, two brothers, aged eleven and fourteen, from the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school had been referred to Dr. W. P. Kyne because of their disruptive behaviour. The doctor's comments showed considerable sympathy for the boys. He thought that they "would prefer to be at home on the reserve and both are attracted towards a life of hunting and fishing." Instead, they were

> being asked to conform to a life that they do not understand and do not desire. Without making a long story of this I will strongly advise that both children to be returned to their parents on the reserve where despite its hardships I feel they would at least be happy. Although it is with the best of intentions, I am sure, that they are in their present location I do not believe that they will ever be assimilated into the culture of the white man.[221]

By the following year, it appears, the boys had been placed in a boarding home.[222]

In some cases, psychiatrists recommended that troubled children be removed from Aboriginal communities and placed in residential schools. In 1958, a psychiatrist suggested that an eleven-year-old boy with epilepsy be sent to residential school because he was not taking his anticonvulsant medication when he was living with his parents. The doctor wrote, "This boy has spent part of his life in a mental institution and a Sanatorium and is therefore, well institutionalized."[223]

In 1969, I. A. Dolan, a district superintendent of education for Indian Affairs in Saskatchewan, reported that at the Qu'Appelle school,

> there has been an epidemic of glue sniffing and hair spray drinking as well as indiscriminate pill swallowing. The Administrator of the residence, Rev. F. Chartrou, feels that he, along with the rest of his staff, is incapable of coping with the situation. In his opinion there are 60 students who are emotionally disturbed to a greater or lesser degree and who are in need of immediate psychiatric help.

Dolan felt that help had to be provided "quickly, before there is a fatality."[224]

This concern was legitimate: there were a number of suicides and attempted suicides throughout this period. In February 1955, a fifteen-year-old girl at the Shubenacadie school drank disinfectant in an attempt at suicide. She took the action after her brother received a letter from their parents that said that he would be rejoining them in the summer but made no mention of her. In reporting the attempt to

Indian Affairs, Principal J. P. Mackey wrote, "What are we going to do with a girl of that kind? Her parents are at present living in West Brattleboro, Vermont, but this girl and her brother came here from Prince Edward Island. She is a very big girl and only in Grade V. Will never go far in any school."[227] The response of Indian Affairs officials was to recommend that the girl be returned to her parents as quickly as possible.[228]

In the winter of 1958–59, a fourteen-year-old Inuit girl, who, because she was an orphan, had been raised since infancy in the Roman Catholic school in Aklavik, developed what was described as a "serious behaviour problem." After she was removed from the school, she attempted to commit suicide. By the spring, Northern Affairs officials were attempting to locate an institution where she could undergo psychiatric assessment.[229]

In June 1966, a boy hanged himself in the gymnasium at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school.[230]

An inquest and hearing were held into the death of a nine-year-old boy at the Alberni, British Columbia, school. In May 1969, one of the boy's friends had found him hanging from a roller towel in a boys' washroom. At the time, he was still alive, but choking for breath. A supervisor got him down and began to apply mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. Shortly afterwards, a doctor arrived and declared him dead. The boy had been given permission from his supervisor to go to the washroom. No students had seen him at the roller towel. Principal J. A. Andrews wrote that he believed that the possibility that the boy had deliberately taken his own life could "be completely ruled out." He immediately removed the rollers.[231] At the inquest into the death, one student said that, as a game, other students had at times wrapped the towel around their necks. The coroner ruled the death an accidental hanging.[232]

In 1968, a student living at the Sandy Bay Reserve in Manitoba was hospitalized for an overdose of unidentified pills. She had taken the pills with two other girls. A follow-up report said that she was "doing good work and is behaving well."[233]

In 1977, a student from Cambridge Bay attempted to commit suicide while living at Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife.[234]

A fifteen-year-old committed suicide at the Lestock, Saskatchewan, residence in the spring of 1981. A few months later at the same residence, a group of girls, between the ages of eight and ten, tried to hang themselves with nooses made of knotted towels and socks. According to a police officer, "One of the girls confirmed it was her clear intent to commit suicide." A staff member who alerted provincial social services to the problem complained that there was not sufficient supervisory staff on duty at the residence. The staff member also complained that "many staff frequently book off sick leaving children unattended."[235]

A student from the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school rendered himself unconscious in December 1981 after he attempted to hang himself with a belt. Initially, it was thought that the boy was not suicidal, since he had made the attempt in the presence

of two other boys. However, it was noted that he was overweight and was teased about this by other boys.[236] A doctor who examined the boy felt that it could well have been a serious suicide attempt related to his treatment by his fellow students. It was decided not to return him to the residence. However, the only home that he could be sent to was his grandmother's. At that time, his grandmother was caring for four children, all under five years of age, and was expecting another four children soon to be returned to her care for the Christmas holidays.[237]

In 1991, a boy who had been enrolled in Grollier Hall in Inuvik in the Northwest Territories was returned to his home community of Fort Franklin after spending seven weeks in hospital because of what was termed "his frequent talk of suicide." The hospital staff concluded that "much of his behaviour is because of his past and his family situation." Arrangements were also made for him to attend a month-long alcohol treatment program in Alberta.[238]

The problems persisted into the period when the schools were operated by Aboriginal authorities. Problems were particularly persistent at the Qu'Appelle school.[239] In January 1993, a student from the Qu'Appelle residence committed suicide while at home. During the 1992–93 school year, thirteen girls at the school attempted to commit suicide. In response, the school put in place a policy under which any student who attempted suicide was suspended. The Qu'Appelle residence at that time was operated by the Star Blanket First Nation. The school's executive director, Vern Bellegarde, told the local media, "We're saying you—as a parent—get your house in order and do what you have to do to deal with the problem." Bellegarde said he did not believe the school was responsible for the suicides. "I think in many cases the parents send their children here hoping we're going to change them totally, and we can't—we've got to have the support of the parents." The school arranged to have a team of Elders and counsellors meet with the students in an effort to address the underlying issues. One parent, however, felt that the staff members "were too comfortable in their jobs" and were not prepared to adopt alternate approaches.[240]

Consent to medical care

Attitudes and regulations regarding consent for the provision of medical care and participation in research studies underwent significant change in the last half of the twentieth century.[241] Not surprisingly, the issue was a particularly vexing one for Indian Affairs, which traditionally had demonstrated limited respect for Aboriginal parents and their views. It had long been the department's position that parents relinquished their rights to guardianship when they enrolled their children in a residential school.[242] The residential school "Application for Admission" forms in use in 1940 required parents to acknowledge that their child was to remain at school "under the

guardianship of the principal for such term as the Minister of Mines and Resources may deem proper."[243] That wording was still in use at the beginning of 1963 (although, in 1951, the reference to the Minister of Mines and Resources had been changed to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration).[244]

Although this wording implied a wide-ranging authority, it had no legal basis in the *Indian Act*, or in other legislation. It could not be seen as a surrender of legal guardianship. At most, it may have amounted to a revocable parental grant of authority for the principal to have legal authority to make medical and other parental types of decisions for the child while in the school. The record does make it clear that from the 1940s onward, Indian Affairs officials began to seek parental granting of authority in a number of instances involving medical care.[245] For example, it was the practice not to transfer students to sanatoria without parental consent.[246] In 1940, the mother of a child at the Fort Frances, Ontario, school declined to give her consent to have her daughter treated at a sanatorium.[247] A nurse's decision in 1946 to send children from the Grouard, Alberta, school to a hospital in Edmonton without prior consultation with the parents drew criticism from Oblate officials.[248] In her own defence, the nurse said she thought she was acting in keeping with health department policy to remove children with tuberculosis from schools quickly. Health officials instructed the Indian agent in the region that it was department policy "not to use compulsion to procure the removal of a tuberculous Indian to this hospital nor to bring an Indian child to the hospital without the parent's consent."[249]

In some cases, the request for consent highlighted parents' general lack of control over the fate of their children. In giving permission for one of his sons to be taken from the Chapleau, Ontario, school to Toronto for treatment for tuberculosis in 1942, Steve Smoke wrote, "A year ago I made a visit to this school and found that in the boys' play[room] the [water] Closet holes [toilet] open and nothing to cover them with. The smell of the room was something terrible, no human being could live in such a place without contracting T.B." He asked the provincial health board to investigate the conditions at the school and also requested that his three other children who were attending the school be returned home.[250] The son in question was later diagnosed as having a lung infection rather than tuberculosis—as a result, he was sent to the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children. Officials gave an evasive answer to Smoke's request to have his other children sent home, pointing out that they had not tested positive for tuberculosis and assuring him that "no child with tuberculosis is allowed to remain" at the school.[251] Smoke's consent, in other words, was needed to move his son to a sanatorium, but it was not required to keep his children in residential school. The decision to release a student from the school, the government maintained, could be made only by the minister of Mines and Resources.

There appears to have been recognition that consent was required for non-emergency surgeries. In 1943, the Blue Quills, Alberta, school administration

assured Indian Affairs that it had acquired parental consent for five girls who were in need of surgery.[252] Two years later, an Indian agent was informed that he could arrange a tonsillectomy for students at the Edmonton, Alberta, school if the parents provided their consent.[253] In recommending that the local Indian agent arrange tonsillectomies for four students at the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie, Indian Health Services official W. L. Falconer recommended in 1946 that, "if at all possible," the agent should obtain the permission of the parents.[254]

Less care appears to have been shown in securing consent for immunizations. In 1945, a nurse asked if it was necessary to get parental consent prior to immunizing children against smallpox, scarlet fever, typhoid, diphtheria, and whooping cough. She said that although a smallpox vaccination was mandatory for First Nations children, she could find no direction regarding the other immunizations. She noted that it was the practice "in the White Schools to obtain written consent but it would make the Inoculations of Indian Children very spotty and difficult."[255] Acting on what he said was the direction of Indian and Northern Health Services official P. E. Moore, medical superintendent Dr. W. S. Barclay had not been obtaining the consent of parents prior to administering the anti-tuberculosis vaccine BCG at residential schools in British Columbia in the mid- to late 1940s. He said he always obtained "the preliminary agreement of the Principal."[256] In 1955, a Northern Affairs official, who was organizing a polio immunization program in the Northwest Territories, agreed that parental consent should be acquired prior to the immunization of their children, and he prepared a form for parents to sign. At the same time, he wrote, "Where the parents are not available to sign the consent, I do not think the child should go without vaccination, however. The medical officer will have to use his own discretion in cases of that nature."[257]

A Canadian court decision in the early 1960s held that only a parent or legal guardian could sign or delegate responsibility for a medical procedure.[258] Under this ruling, a legal guardian was either a parent "or an individual into whose care a child is placed by court proceedings."[259] Since the admission form was not a legal transfer of guardianship, a federal legal adviser recommended in 1961 that the application form be redrafted to include the following paragraph:

> I hereby make application for the admission of the above child into the residential school shown, to remain therein under the guardianship of the principal for such term as the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration may deem proper and I hereby give the principal express permission to authorize such medical and dental treatment as he, in his discretion, deems necessary.[260]

A separate paragraph was eventually added to the admission form, which conformed to the legal advisor's recommendation. A note on the form added:

> The signature of the responsible parent or guardian on the application gives the principal permission to authorize such medical and dental treatment as he in his discretion deems necessary, this covers both preventive and emergency treatment, but in all cases involving an operation, an endeavour should be made to obtain the parent's consent.[253]

Since the parents of students who had been admitted in previous years did not sign new admission forms each year, an additional form, dealing solely with the authorization of treatment, was prepared for the parents of children who were returning to school. Indian Affairs also instructed principals to accept returning students, even if the parents refused to sign the form.[262] This worried Henry Cook, the head of the Anglican Indian School Administration. He pointed out that the principal was not the legal guardian and therefore could not legally authorize medical or dental treatment. He felt that no principal should be compelled to accept a student if the parents had not signed over to that principal the authority to approve medical treatment for their child.[263]

In commenting on the changes, one Indian Affairs official noted that in the case of orphans, "some of these children have spent all most [sic] all their childhood in Residential schools, they have no official recognized guardian and it is extremely difficult to trace any members of the family at the Uncle or Aunt level."[264] In the case of three children at the Shingwauk school who had no legal guardian, Indian Affairs recommended that the consent form be signed by the "friend or relative" who took care of them when they were not in school. If no such person existed, the Indian Affairs officials were instructed "to authorize ordinary or medical treatment. In the event of emergency treatment involving an operation, presumably the medical authorities would accept the responsibility of performing such an operation."[265]

Cook had predicted that the policy of allowing children to be admitted without a signed medical consent form would give rise to problems: he was correct. By November 1962, the Kuper Island school had admitted twenty-nine students for whom it did not have medical consent forms.[266] More than half of the students at the Mission school did not have signed medical consents on file in 1963. As a result, school officials felt that they could not provide the students with polio vaccine, as part of an anti-polio campaign.[267]

In 1967, Indian Affairs introduced a second form to be completed by the parents (or legal guardians) of children applying for admission to residential school. This was called the "Application for Admission to Pupil Residence." It required the parent to

> entrust to the Crown Jurisdiction and guardianship of this pupil from the date the pupil leaves his/her home officially in transit to the Pupil Residence and until such time as the said pupil is returned to my custody or some other place as may be authorized by me. Guardianship of this pupil can be delegated by the Crown in providing for this pupil's welfare, education, medical and social engagements.

> I hereby delegate to the Crown authority to act so far as is necessary for the welfare and behaviour of the pupil, and I further agree to remove said pupil from the Pupil Residence when requested to do so by the Administrator of a Contract Pupil Residence or the Regional Superintendent of Schools in charge of a Government operated Pupil Residence.

The form also required the parent to give "full consent to the attending Physician and Hospital Staff to carry out any form of examination, (sic, treatment or operation" on the child "that they may deem necessary and do therefore absolve them from any consequence thereof."[109] This form granted the government guardianship and the right to delegate that guardianship, while previous forms had granted the guardianship to the principal. For the first time, the form absolved caregivers of the consequences of medical treatment they provided.

The new form did not replace the old one, but appears to have been used in addition to it. Both forms were used by the same institutions at the same time, and were in use until 1976.[110] In 1977, both forms were, rather confusingly, renamed the "Application for Admission to Student Residence/Group Home." One form was only slightly amended, essentially only adding the parenthetical phrase "Group Home" after the phrase "Student Residence."[111]

The other form carried a more significant change: a time limit had been placed on the period in which the child was being placed under the administrator's guardianship. The form read that the parent agreed to place the child "under the guardianship of the Administrator for a period of 12 (twelve) months or for such a term as the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development may deem proper." The parent also gave the administrator permission "to authorize (on my behalf) such medical and dental treatment as becomes necessary from time-to-time."[112]

On the basis of such documents, the administrators of the student residences were believed to have the authority to give consent for tuberculin testing and vaccination of students who lived in residence.[113]

Despite the use of this increasingly detailed language in the admission forms—and the language absolving doctors and hospital staff of responsibility for the consequences of treatment—by the early 1980s, hospitals were increasingly unwilling to rely upon the consent of a residence administrator. A 1981 legal opinion by R. B. Lawchuk, the solicitor for the Regina General Hospital, concluded that "neither the *Indian Act* nor any regulation thereunder nor any other federal statute of which we are aware provides a legislative basis for the delegation of parental rights and responsibilities of an Indian child to the Crown or any agency thereof." The opinion observed that although the application forms

> appear to delegate to the Crown (and Crown in turn having a further power of delegation) jurisdiction and guardianship of the child, including the provision for the child's medical needs, we do not believe that [...] specific individual

> under the power of delegation to 'in loco parentis' [in the place of the parent] to the child. While the administrator of the school may indeed have the temporary custody and control of each child, we do not believe that he is commissioned either the parent or the guardian and accordingly, we do not believe that a consent signed by the administrator would qualify as the consent required under s.10 of the Hospital Standards Regulations, nor under the requirements of an informed consent generally.[73]

The regulations referred to under the Saskatchewan *Hospital Standards Act* required that doctors obtain written consent from the parent or the child's legal guardian unless a state of emergency existed. The authorization signed by the parent on admission was not deemed to be valid test under this regulation.[74]

Indian Affairs acknowledged that "the *Indian Act*, or any Federal statute as far as we know, does not provide for the delegation of parental rights and responsibilities of an Indian child to the Crown or it's [sic] agent."[75] (Section 53 of the *Indian Act* did authorize the minister to administer or provide for the administration of property to which "infant children of Indians are entitled" and to appoint a guardian for this purpose. But this was not a guardian who would take the place of a parent in all aspects of a child's life.)[76]

The federal government instructed student residence administrators in Saskatchewan that

> even though the administrator has been assigned temporary custody control [sic] of a child he must make every attempt to secure consent of parent [sic] in cases of elective surgery. If written consent is physically impossible to obtain, verbal consent (by telephone—dated and witnessed) should be obtained in order that the administrator and hospital and staff can be protected from possible legal liability where the necessity of an informed consent exists.[77]

The administrator of the Duck Lake residence, D. Scrimgeour, pointed out that hospitals were requiring that consents be signed on the day of elective surgery. Not only were most parents of children at the residence unable to be at the hospital on the day of surgery, he wrote, but also "most of our parents do not have telephones and even if we were to pick up parents for the purposes of signing their children into a hospital, the time and miles just to achieve [sic] this are enormous." In the previous nine years, he had signed all consent forms for elective surgery. "Now," he wrote, "I really do not know what to do."[78]

By the early 1980s, many of the schools were being operated by First Nations education authorities, especially in northern Canadian provinces. Some of these authorities developed their own application forms. The Duck Lake residence had a residence-specific form by 1983. It stated that the child was to

> [illegible] under the guardianship of the Administrator and delegate(s) thereof who are hereby authorized to provide such Child's education and welfare, including the making of such travel arrangements and providing such discipline as may be [illegible] Administrator and delegate(s) be required, for such time as the administrator may deem proper.

The form also gave the "Administrator, Assistant Administrator, Matron or Supervisor" permission to sign, "as the lawful custodian and lawful guardian of my son/daughter while the same is registered as a student" at the residences, "all medical forms, authorizations or releases" that are "required to accommodate the full and proper medical treatment of my son/daughter, including without restrictions or waivers." The parent reserved the right to revoke this authorization in writing.[111] It appears that parents applying to have their children admitted to the Hay Lake residence also had to fill out an Indian Affairs application form that transferred guardianship to the Crown.[112] The Gordon's, Sandy Bay, school, which was not under Dene Nation management, used a similarly worded application form in the 1990s, without the section relating to the care and hospital staff.[113] Evidence suggests that in the two previous decades, it was the practice, at least at that school, to get parental permission for most medical and dental services.[114] Before students could participate in a program of fluoride mouth rinses sponsored by the Saskatchewan government in the 1960s, their parents had to provide signed consent.[115] The school also required parents to provide consent for visits to specialists in the 1960s and for vaccinations in the 1980s.[116]

All the same, in 1986, the administrator of the Gordon's residence continued to state that, as the legal guardian of the children, he was authorized to give consent for medical treatment of students, including immunization.[117]

Forms for schools in the Northwest Territories differed from those used in the rest of Canada. Prior to the late 1970s, students with status under the *Indian Act* were admitted using forms that employed the same language as the forms in the rest of the country.[118] The admission form for students who did not have status under the *Indian Act* in the Northwest Territories in the 1950s and 1960s—usually orphans or destitute children—committed them to the school for as long as the Department of the Interior deemed proper. The form made no mention of guardianship or medical or dental.[119] The establishment of the large boarding system at the end of the 1960s led to the adoption of a new form for all students. The form in use in 1969, for example, made no mention of guardianship or medical treatment.[120] Under the form in use in 1971, the parent agreed that "the guardianship of this child may be delegated by the Government of the Northwest Territories in the course of providing for his welfare, education, medical needs and social and sports programmes, including approved travel incidental thereto." The parent was also required to "give full consent to the attending Physician and Hospital Staff in cases of emergency to carry out any form of examination, test, treatment or operation that they deemed necessary for my child's

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Bedwetting

In the late 1960s, students from a Saskatchewan residential school were involved in a broader study of bedwetting (enuresis). The study also involved non-Aboriginal children from common camps and child corrective. The results of the study were not broken down on the basis of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children. However, the study compared the bladder capacities of those children with enuresis and those without it. There is no indication in the paper that was published on the study results as to whether the consent of the parents of the children involved in the study had been obtained.[81]

Electroencephalographic survey

In 1968, R. B. Lowry, an assistant professor of the Division of Medical Genetics at the University of British Columbia, wished to carry out a "electroencephalographic survey of normal Indian school children" at residential schools in British Columbia.[82] "Electroencephalographic" is the study of fingerprints. Medical researchers looking for the genetic roots of a wide variety of illnesses, including Down's syndrome, have conducted numerous studies examining differences between people with these illnesses and "normal" subjects.[83] Lowry received a sympathetic reception from the principals of the Alert Bay, Kamloops, Fraser Lake, and Williams Lake schools.[84] The principal of the Kuper Island school made it clear that he did not want to participate without the consent of the parents. Neither was he interested in assisting Lowry in obtaining that consent, since he feared the study would impair the school's relationship with the parents.[85] It appears the survey went ahead, although it is not clear from the record how many schools or children were involved. In a letter to the Williams Lake principal, Lowry explained that he wished to take the fingerprints of one child from each family at the school.[86] Again, although the risk was limited in this study, there was no apparent benefit to the students. The fact that one principal recognized the need to obtain parental consent suggests that others ought to have been aware of this obligation as well.

Accidental death and injury

Disease and illness were not the only threats to students' well-being. During this period, students were also at risk of death due to injury from vehicle accidents, participation in sports and recreation activities, workplace incidents (discussed in the chapters on education), and violence (discussed in the chapters dealing with abuse).

Several of the deaths described below underscore the schools' inability to provide the students with adequate supervision and protection.

Many residential schools had been located near bodies of water. Even when they were distant from water, swimming and boating were recreational activities. Excluding the deaths of those who drowned while attempting to run away, there were at least nine drowning deaths at residential schools from 1940 to their closing in the late 1980s.

Three boys wandered away from the supervisors at a picnic and swimming excursion for students from the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie in August 1940. One of the boys attempted to swim to a nearby island and was caught up in a strong current. Two other students attempted to rescue him, but failed. The coroner concluded that no inquest was required. In reporting the death, Principal Charles Hives, who had not been part of the expedition, wrote:

> No blame could be attached to those in charge. The boys knew what was expected of them. They knew and were told they were not to go into the water until one hour after lunch, and by that time they would be at their objective sandy beach, where they had been before. It is just one of those unfortunate accidents, which, I am thankful to say we have not encounted [sic] since nearly eleven years ago.[107]

A 1943 berry-picking outing at the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school ended tragically. Eighteen girls set out on the trip after dinner on August 12. They broke up into small groups. When one of the girls returned to the school by way of a nearby lake, she noticed two cans of berries by the shore. She ran to the school and alerted the staff. Two staff members drove to the lake, where they could see a small boat overturned in the water. The bodies of Doris Paul and Mary Ginnish were recovered from the lake. The local coroner determined there was no need for an inquest.[108]

In June 1947, three girls took a raft out on a lake east of the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school. The lake was out of bounds to students, but the girls and a number of boys had gone there on an afternoon walk. The raft tipped over. One girl held on to the raft and made it to shore, but the other two girls, Myrtle Jane Moostoo and Margaret Bruce, drowned.[109]

Dolores George, a student at the Christie Island, British Columbia, school, drowned in 1955 when the skiff that she and another girl were in overturned. The records do not indicate if the two girls were attempting to run away, although one letter describing the incident suggests that they may have been trying to harvest kelp.[110]

On June 11, 1972, two boys who were living at Stringer Hall in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, left the residence for a walk. Robert Tuasi and David Kaosoni found a canoe in Boot Lake, which is on the edge of the community. Using boards as paddles, they set out in the canoe, travelling through a channel to another lake. When they attempted their return journey, they accidentally tipped the canoe over. David Kaosoni was able to swim to shore, but Robert Tuasi, who was fifteen years old, drowned, despite his

friend's attempts to save him. His body was found the following evening. An inquest returned a verdict of accidental drowning.[321]

Fifteen-year-old Anthony Moses and a sixteen-year-old friend were given permission to go duck hunting at the Desmarais, Alberta, residence in 1973. One of the ducks they shot landed in the Wabasca River. When Moses entered the river in an effort to retrieve the duck, he was caught up in the current and drowned.[322]

In October 1974, Charles Hunter went skating with a group of other students on a frozen lake near the Fort Albany, Ontario, school. The ice broke open and one of the boys, Joseph Koostachin, fell in. In his efforts to rescue Joseph, Charles himself fell into the water. Other students were able to pull Joseph from the water, but Charles drowned. An autopsy was performed in Timmins, and, without any consultation with his parents, Charles was buried in Moosonee. The parents chartered a plane, at a cost of $650, to travel from their home community of Peawanuck near Hudson Bay to attend the funeral. It was not until 2011, after significant public efforts made by a sister, Joyce, who had never got to meet her older brother, that Charles Hunter's body was exhumed and returned to Peawanuck for a community burial. The costs were covered by a fund that the *Toronto Star* raised from its readership.[323]

There were many other sports and recreation accidents, most of which were non-fatal.[324] Others, however, were tragic, and again raise questions about the level of supervision at the schools. A boy from the Edmonton, Alberta, school died in 1942 when he tobogganed down a steep hill, onto a roadway, and into the path of an oncoming car.[325] Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey issued an instruction to the principal that in future, the students should not be allowed to "toboggan down any hill leading to public roads."[326]

A student at the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school was killed in 1942 when he was hit by a truck being driven by the school principal, F. X. Gagnon. In the accident report, Gagnon said he thought the boy had been struck while attempting to jump onto the truck's running board.[327] In 1960, one of the staff of the Carcross school in the Yukon was driving a car full of staff and students to town to attend a Friday-night movie. The car hit an ice patch and spun out of control. One student, thirteen-year-old Douglas Burns, and one teacher, Ewen Heustis, died in the crash.[328] On February 10, 1965, Michael Gerald Rabbit Carrier was run over by a school bus at the Crowfoot school in Alberta. The inquest found no fault with the driver, but recommended that "there should be an able and competent officer in charge of the loading of the buses where so many small children are involved and the teachers should give instruction to the children to behave when the bus arrives."[329]

One vehicle accident underscores the casual and dangerous manner in which students were transported. In 1960, the staff of Breynat Hall, the Roman Catholic residence in Fort Smith, Northwest Territories, took two truckloads of children for a picnic. The trucks were both five-ton vehicles; one of them was carrying between

seventy and eighty children. As the trucked turned a corner, "the pressure of the number of children leaning against the sides, combined with the bouncing over a rough spot on the turn which leans inwards considerably, apparently caused the latch between the side and the tailgate to give way." Five children fell out; one of them, Emma Elton, died from her injuries.[330] A coroner's jury concluded that the death was an accident, but recommended that the "transportation of standing passengers on the back of an open moving vehicle" be made illegal. Roman Catholic Bishop Paul Piché informed Northern Affairs official R. G. Robertson that he could "rest assured that the Hostel management will conform immediately with this recommendation." He also suggested that the department provide the hostel with sufficient funds to pay for the "occasional transportation of the boarders by bus."[331]

Other deaths reflect the specific dangers associated with the location of the schools. Pauloosie Meeko, a nineteen-year-old boy attending the Churchill Vocational Centre in northern Manitoba, died after being mauled by a polar bear in 1968, not far from the school.[332] Three years later, Grant Ross, a fifteen-year-old boy attending the Assiniboia School in Winnipeg, died after being struck by a car while attempting to cross Portage Avenue.[333]

Several of the reports on accidental deaths stress that the children were warned of the risks associated with the activities in which they were engaged. The implication of this was that they were at least partially responsible for their own death. In reality, there were often safety measures that could have been taken in advance to reduce the risk. Seven-year-old Mary Antoinette Pascal, a student at a residential school in Cranbrook, British Columbia, died in 1950 when ice from the school roof dislodged and fell nine metres, and, after bouncing off a metal roof protecting the school's sub-basement, struck her on the head. The girl had been playing tag with her friends. A report on the accident observed that she must have "momentarily forgotten the danger."[334] The local coroner concluded it was not necessary to hold an inquest, "as the children had been well warned of the danger and there did not appear to be any negligence as far as the staff of the school was concerned." It does appear that measures could have been taken to prevent such accidents, since the principal agreed to make changes that would ensure that "there will be no further danger of the ice falling on the children."[335]

The reduction in the student death rate was dramatic during this post-1940 period. It is attributable to a variety of factors: the screening of incoming students, the vaccination of healthy students, and the isolation and removal of children with active cases of disease. The development of antibiotics meant that those who were infected no longer faced a death sentence. However, a number of factors contributed to the continuation of compromised health and safety conditions for residential school students, beginning with the failure of Indian Affairs to address the impoverished socio-economic

conditions of Aboriginal people in general. This meant that students came from communities already suffering from numerous health problems.

Once an infected student was admitted to the school, the crowded, poorly ventilated buildings meant that infection could spread quickly. On-site health care remained minimal, and other services such as dental care and mental-health care were reserved largely for emergencies. When problems were identified, services still might not be available. Prevailing colonial attitudes led government and school administrators to presume that they knew better than Aboriginal parents what was acceptable for the children in residential schools when it came to health care and the use of the children in medical research. These attitudes did not change significantly until the 1960s—by which time the Indian residential school system was in the process of being dismantled.

CHAPTER 37

Diet and nutrition: 1940–2000

Parents, children, school staff, and government inspectors had been raising concerns about the poor quality of residential school diets since the nineteenth century. Staples such as milk and bread were often in short supply; and meals were monotonous, poorly prepared, and limited in nutritional value.[1] One might expect that these issues would have been overcome in the post-1940 period. Improvements in knowledge about the benefits of nutrition should have given an additional incentive to provide better diets, and growing economic prosperity after 1945 meant that Canada had the resources to fund such improved diets.

During the 1940s, Canada also had developed standards for school diets. In 1942, the government of Canada issued *Canada's Official Food Rules*. A product of the work of the newly established Nutrition Division of the federal Department of Pensions and National Health (later the Department of National Health and Welfare), the publication also had the approval of the Canadian Council on Nutrition.[2] Canada's Food Rules are significant to the history of residential schools for two reasons. First, they represent an expected standard of care against which residential school diets can be assessed. Second, Canada's Food Rules—along with ongoing debates about the potential impact of the addition of certain vitamins and minerals—played a role in shaping certain nutritional research projects that were carried out at six residential schools in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Despite these developments, it would not be until the late 1950s that Canada put in place a funding system that would allow the schools to meet Canada's Food Rules recommendations. In the following years, reports of inadequate diets continued as government funding failed to keep pace with the cost of living. This chapter demonstrates that Indian Affairs, the branch of the government responsible for the schools during this period, was well aware of this failure to feed students adequately. Parents, students, administrators, missionaries, and federal government health officials all regularly reported to the government on the schools' inability to feed children a diet that was in keeping with its own nutritional guidelines. It is likely that few, if any, of the schools were funded at a level that allowed them to fully meet students' nutritional or energy requirements.

The Nutrition Division and the Food Rules

In 1941, the Canadian government established the Nutrition Division as a branch of the federal health department. The creation of such a division reflected a growing official recognition that creating a guideline for diet was a national responsibility.[3] It was also part of an international trend in several industrialized countries to develop expertise that could advise governments and the general population on nutritional issues. Some of the first attempts to establish scientifically based dietary standards were made during the First World War. In 1922, Hazel Stiebeling of the United States Department of Agriculture developed recommendations for the first national food allowances that included recommendations for mineral and vitamin consumption. The food budgets that Stiebeling suggested (with the exception of those for an emergency diet) were intended to furnish "not only the minimum requirements of the body but an ample margin of safety as well."[4]

The federal government established the Canadian Council on Nutrition (CCN) in 1939 in response to prompting from international agencies to create a dietary standard.[5] This standard was intended to represent "the amounts of essential nutrients considered adequate to meet the needs of practically all healthy persons."[6] Studies that the CCN carried out in four Canadian cities in the late 1930s and early 1940s concluded that a large percentage of the Canadian population was not consuming a nutritionally adequate diet.[7] Although there were no data on rural Canadians, Dr. E. W. McHenry of the CCN wrote, "With regard to urban diets we can make a prediction with some certainty: that the average picture among those families with the lowest incomes is one of under-nutrition."[8] However, when the CCN established its first national dietary standard, it had to contend with government pressures to ensure the standard could not be used as a justification for significant increases in relief payments.[9] With the outbreak of the Second World War, there was a greater emphasis on improving diet to ensure the health of recruits and the wartime workforce. This led to the adoption of a dietary standard, whose goal was more than simply warding off malnutrition: the goal was to identify the optimal level of nutrients an individual required.[10]

Canada's Official Food Rules were issued in 1942. They identified six different food groups that were described as "health-protective." Canadians were advised to consume the prescribed minimum portions on a daily basis. The six groups were milk (half a pint [.24 litres] for adults, more than a pint for children, and "some cheese"); fruits (one daily serving of tomatoes or citrus fruits or juices, and one serving of another fruit); vegetables (a daily serving of potatoes, plus two servings of other vegetables); cereals and bread (one serving of whole-grain cereal and four to six slices of Canada Approved bread); meat, fish, or meat substitutes (one serving a day, with a serving of liver, heart, or kidney once a week); and eggs (at least three or four times a week). In

additives. "Some source of Vitamin D such as fish liver oils, is essential for children, and may be advisable for adults." Due to wartime shortages of some foods such as milk, the Food Rules were inadequate. It is estimated that a diet based on the Food Rules would equal 70% of the dietary standard that had been established in 1938.

In 1944, the Food Rules were revised with an intention to meet the 1938 dietary standard. The new rules adjusted the levels of milk consumption from a half pint to a pint for adults and one and a half pints to a quart (.94 litres) for children. It was also recommended that bread be consumed with butter. Heart and kidney (in short supply) were removed from the Food Rules, and iodized salt was added to the recommended diet. Because of their protein content, cheese and eggs were included in the meat and fish group. In 1949, the words "at least" were added to the milk recommendations, fortified margarine was listed as an alternative to butter, the reference to Canada Approved bread was dropped from the bread provision, and a specific dosage of vitamin D was recommended. The Food Rules remained unchanged until 1961, when they underwent slight adjustment (and were renamed Canada's Food Guide).[10]

The situation in the schools in the early 1940s

The imposition of wartime cuts in the per capita grants to the schools had a negative impact on the food supply in residential schools. Parents regularly voiced their concern over the poor quality and limited supply of food at the schools. In September 1941, five children were not returned to the Moose Lake school in Ontario at the beginning of the school year because their parents believed that the food at the school was poor.[11] A 1944 inspection of the Elkhorn school in Manitoba by Dr. A. R. Simes, the medical superintendent of the Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital, concluded that 20% of the girls and 70% of the boys were underweight. Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey wrote that the results supported the contention of a number of parents that "children were poorly clad and poorly fed at the institution."[12] Mrs. W. Sinclair came away from a visit to her grandchildren at the Elkhorn school in the following year very dissatisfied with "the way the children are cared for and fed. While at the School I ate the same food as the children, which is unnourishing [sic] for any child." She pointed out that they did not get butter and were given milk only in the morning. "These two things they get plenty at home [sic]." She informed an Anglican Church official that she was going to ask to have the children returned home.[13] The two girls appear to have remained in the school for another four years. They were not discharged until 1949.[14]

In 1945, Dr. Cameron Corrigan, who practised medicine in northern Manitoba, wrote to Indian Affairs, "In all boarding schools that I know of, [and is supplied to all

[illegible] children in place of beans." He recommended that the government order an end to the practice. He said that at the Norway House school, at his initiative, [illegible] were replaced by pressed beans.[1] After a week-long inspection, a nutritionist rated the diet at the Port Crosby, British Columbia, school as "poor" in 1946. In particular, the fruit, vegetable, cereal, and meat servings were judged to be inadequate.[2]

The Red Cross inspections: 1944-1948

In light of such negative reports, in the fall of 1944, R. A. Hoey, by then the director of the Indian Affairs branch, asked the Canadian Red Cross to undertake a nutritional survey of the Chapleau, Ontario, school.[3] Before the Red Cross completed its report, local physician G. E. Young alerted Indian Affairs officials that "conditions have become unavoidable [sic] worse" since the survey team visited the school. The milk ration had declined to half a cup a day per student and assembly egg powder was found to be "the poorest ones." He said that the children were exhibiting symptoms of

> ariboflavinosis [any disease caused by long-term vitamin deficiency] and malnutrition with the general symptoms of tiredness, fatigue, irritability, general poor health and loss of weight. A daily compulsory rest period for the children regardless of age has been found necessary in order that the children secure sufficient rest to carry them through their daily routine. During the past year at least six cases of Tuberculosis has [sic] been diagnosed and required hospitalization treatment. These cases developed and spread throughout the school in spite of the intensive routine check-up and the bi-annual x-ray examinations.[4]

A follow-up investigation by Indian agent E. Watters concluded that there was a shortage of milk and eggs, a need to serve a greater supply of vegetables for the winters, and a need for greater variety in the school menus.[5]

The Red Cross undertook a number of additional surveys. In March 1945 study of the food at the girls' school at Spanish, Ontario, reported that the calcium content was 60% of the requirement for girls aged ten to twelve. There were also marked deficiencies of ascorbic acid (vitamin c) and riboflavin (vitamin b2), and a very low level of vitamin a. He added, "Attention should be drawn to the low thiamine level in relation to the recommendations for adolescence." It was estimated that it would cost $10.14 a day to get the diet up to the standard set in Canada's Food Rules. (This would work out to an additional eight cents a day per student, or about $1.09 per student per day, in current terms.) A survey of the diet at the boys' school at Spanish concluded that the vitamin a content was 35.3% of the recommended allowance for boys aged ten to twelve, and ascorbic acid was 88% below the recommended level for boys of that age. The meal rations, although sufficient for younger boys, did not meet the needs of

One of the schools surveyed was Cecilia Jeffrey, the Presbyterian school in Kenora. It was reported:

> The kitchen was not completely supervised by anyone. The laundry matron, a previous cook, relieved the present cooks on off duty days. The first cook was seventy years old and employed temporarily, due to the difficulty of obtaining a cook this year. Both cooks lacked training and experience in quantity cookery.

There was no long-term menu planning. The day-to-day menus "lacked variety and the children's supper was not always adequate in quantity." It was also noted that the staff members were served a different menu, one that included "extras."[39]

After the surveys, the Nutrition Division made recommendations to

> Indian Affairs Branch and Indian Health Services on the particular improvements which are needed (i) for health (*e.g.*, extra servings of certain foods, better trained cooks, replacement and addition of worn and cracked utensils, careful choice of food handlers, pasteurization of milk) and (ii) for better use of facilities and better training (*e.g.* equipment i.e. potato peeler—lighting and ventilation facilities, extension or enlargement of certain units).[40]

Overall, McGrady concluded that the "nutritional inadequacy" of the school diets could be "attributed to financial limitations, kind and amounts of farm produce, food purchasing (*e.g.* refined cereal) and nutritive losses in cooking."[41] These were essentially the same issues that the Red Cross inspectors had recently identified.

The assessment of nutrition in the schools had been based on an application of Canada's Food Rules, but Dr. Pett thought it would be "better to use as a basis the foods that will be obtained when on the nearby reserves, and add only those foods that can be economically obtained." If this could be done, it might create a healthy diet that students could follow when they left the schools. In concluding, he noted, "But this involves a big question, not for me to answer, of what you are trying to do with the Indians."[42]

The 1947 surveys

Another round of inspections was held in 1947. A January 1947 report on the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, identified the usual catalogue of issues. The cooks were inexperienced and overworked, and found it difficult to communicate with children. The meat grinder was "old and unserviceable," and the vegetable slicer had been made in the school workshop. Kettles were in short supply, and the few existing ones were old and worn. The dishes were chipped, and the cutlery was old and rusty. There were no table knives.

The main storeroom was far from the kitchen and was "dark and dingy." The unpainted shelves were "too narrow and inadequate." A "current supply storeroom" was closer, but cluttered with kitchen utensils and cleaning materials, "since there were no facilities for such items in the kitchen." A temporary storeroom had no cupboards, shelves, or windows. The bread was kept "improperly" in cardboard boxes. The refrigerator was inadequate for meat, dairy products, leftover food, and other perishables. The dining-room tables and benches were old, badly worn, and unpainted, and the tables were covered with a "stained, worn, white oilcloth." The concrete flooring in the kitchen and dishwashing room needed to be replaced with a covering that was easier to keep clean. The report also suggested installing windows in the storerooms and dishwashing room, and opening the windows in the dining room to address the inadequate ventilation. The main storeroom had inadequate lighting. Although "good attempts" were made to keep the rooms clean and tidy, the lack of storage facilities, the worn floors, the old equipment and utensils, and the lack of proper help proved to be "handicaps," and good results were not obvious.

The inspector did not have "complete assurance that the food handlers did not have T.B." The cattle were tested for tuberculosis periodically, but the milk was not pasteurized, and the facilities for washing and storing dairy utensils were inadequate. Poor garbage-disposal practices had led to the presence of rats, and the school itself was infested with cockroaches.

Due to a lack of proper refrigeration facilities, beef had to be stored in the city at a cost of three cents a pound. The rest of the food supplies were purchased, and the approximate food cost per person per day was twenty cents. Although the matron compiled a two-week menu pattern, it did not "reflect an adequate diet and was not followed consistently." The children's and staff menus differed: "extras" were allowed for the staff, while the meat and fruit servings for the children were usually too small. Servings of citrus fruit, vegetables, and whole-grain breakfast cereals fell short of those recommended in the Food Rules, limiting the intake of iron and vitamins A, C, and B. The report deemed the servings of stew in particular "too small for growing children." The meals were lacking in quality and variety because the standard methods of preparation and cookery were not in use.[47]

In reviewing a proposed Indian Affairs ration scale, based on Canada's Food Rules, Henry Cook, the principal of the Moose Factory school in Ontario, noted in 1947 that many students "did not like certain vegetables," but had been raised on tea since childhood. He wondered if he might "ask for fewer vegetables and use the credit of the remainder for extra tea?"[48] Dr. Pett responded, "If the children do not like certain vegetables, then vegetables they do like should be increased in quantity rather than using those extra credits for tea." He also stressed, "No central ration list can hope to satisfy the local needs of any institution. It can only be a guide."[49]

At the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school, an inspector noted that instead of getting between one and a half pints to a quart of milk a day, the students were getting between one and three cups; instead of a daily serving of citrus fruits, they were getting them only on Catholic feast days; instead of daily servings of other fruits, they were getting them only when available; instead of a daily serving of whole-grain cereal, they were served non-whole-grain cereals three times a week. Although they were getting at least six slices of bread, it was not vitamin-enriched bread. They had no cheese, and got cod liver oil only during the winter.[50]

In early 1947, Inspector McCready inspected six schools in Alberta. Overall, she concluded that "at no school does the variety of diet meet the requirements in respect to Vitamin content, and that no school principal has sufficient revenue to enable him to provide a wholly satisfactory diet, especially in fresh fruit or fruit juices."[51] Her inspection of the Morley, Alberta, school kitchen underscored the problems with which school cooks struggled. Working conditions were judged to be awkward and congested because of the narrowness of the kitchen; there was no place near the kitchen for the proper storage of food supplies; the refrigerator was inadequate and was located in a pantry next to the kitchen; other than the windows, there was no ventilation. The meat grinder and the hand slicer were worn out, and there was not enough hot water to wash all the dishes in the one sink in the kitchen. For several months, it had been impossible for the school to purchase lard, cheese, or any dried fruits other than prunes, and the fresh milk supply was judged to be "too low."[52] The diet at the Hobbema, Alberta, school produced a similar and disheartening picture. According to the inspector, "Variety was lacking, since large amounts of dishes were prepared for the noon meal and the left-overs were served (as such) for the evening meal." When the servings were assessed in light of the recommendations of the Food Rules, they fell "very short in respect of milk, citrus fruit or tomatoes, other vegetables, the use of whole wheat or Canada Approved white or brown bread, butter, eggs, cheese (non-available) and iodized salt." The students were "pale, expressionless, and thin."[53]

In 1947, an investigation discovered that the Anglican Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada was not using all the money it received from the federal government for the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school for school purposes. Indian agent M. S. Todd wrote, "Wages are so low that it is impossible to get efficient help," and the "preparation, serving and quality of food given to the children and staff of this institution is one of the dark pages in the history of this school."[54] Three days later, a second Indian Affairs official, J. Coleman, filed an equally critical report of the school. The noon meal at the school consisted of boiled salmon, potatoes, raw turnip, johnny cake (a flat bread), and water. According to Coleman:

> The fins had been left in some of the fish, some of which was nearly raw. Before serving it had cooled off in metal bowls for nearly half an hour and was quite

> cold. The "johnny cake" appeared soggy and improperly cooked. Baked fish heads and roe in insufficient quantity were served for the evening meal, with a small dab of apple sauce and a slice of bread.
>
> The next day liver, raw carrots and potatoes with bread were served for lunch, but as only a spoon was allowed each child, they had difficulty in dividing the meat into edible portions. The dessert was a stodgy boiled pudding, not fit for food, with water for beverage. The evening meal was rice pudding boiled with water, with about two prunes per child, bread with a smear of peanut butter and cocoa. It was noticed that some of the pupils dishing out the food at the tables were left without an adequate serving and had no reserve to fall back on. It is doubtful if the children receive a total of more than a third of a pint of milk per day and no butter. There is no evidence of their being given citrus fruits or tomato juice, other than on very rare occasions.

He doubted that the diet would meet "half the children's nutritional requirements." Since many of the children came from "well-equipped homes with a high standard of living, it is easy to understand their revolt against these conditions."[55]

Other schools reported that they could provide satisfying meals only by overspending on food. In December 1947, the principal of the Mohawk Institute, W. J. Zimmerman, informed Indian Affairs:

> With this matter of food I am running into real difficulty. To maintain the present type of meals being served I cannot remain within the budget. Mrs. Davies is trying to give the children a balanced diet. One of the boys said the other day that one of the things which keeps him at the school is the good food. He plainly stated that if there was a return to the former meals as served a number of years ago he would not stay.

Cutting down on food costs would, he wrote, only drive up truancy.[56]

In the summer of 1947, the Nutrition Division offered a course for residential school cooks.[57] For the course, Dr. Pett brought both school cooks and female students to the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school. At the course, he said, "the variety of food and the size of servings of most food was greater than served in the schools. No difficulty was encountered in getting the girls [meaning the female students] to eat any of the foods essential to health." This observation was intended as a refutation to those who said the students would not eat healthy food. It was Pett's position that students would eat healthy food when such food was properly prepared. The daily food cost during the cooking school was forty-six cents a student. While this was double the amount that was budgeted at the residential schools that his staff had visited in the past two years, he observed that "46¢ is not a high food cost considering the price of food today and comparing it with the cost in other institutions."[58]

In the fall of 1947, McCready visited seventeen schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and northern Ontario. Her report on these inspections painted a disheartening picture. McCready found that although "basic 100 quantity recipes and weekly menu patterns" had been supplied, they were not being used. In fact, she said, "Very few of the cooks are applying many of the teachings from the course." Most of the schools used recipes occasionally for desserts, but failed "to see the necessity" in using recipes for soups, meats, and vegetables, and at only one school were the supplied recipes being used consistently. One cook stated that "she did not plan a menu ahead of time because she would have to change it." In one case, McCready helped a cook plan a weekly menu. Given the lack of school resources, the menu still did not have citrus fruit, vegetables, eggs, liver, and butter.

In her sessions with cooks, McCready observed that there was a need to train cooks in the importance of

- serving vegetables;
- cooking unpeeled potatoes to save time, effort, and vitamin C;
- cutting food into similar sizes to ensure that the children receive the same amount (It was reported that the "cook seldom sees the food after it leaves the kitchen and scarcely realizes that one child is only getting perhaps half as much as another.");
- cooking vegetables in the shortest possible time;
- recognizing that jam did not count as a serving of fruit; and
- overcoming the children's food dislikes through "gradual introduction and explanation."

Some improvements had been made in "most of the schools" since the first inspection; in particular, schools served increased portions of beef, purchased more fresh fruit, supplemented their fresh milk supplies with powdered milk, and used more whole-wheat bread.

But, McCready wrote, it was hard for principals to stay away from two topics of discussion:

1) The financial limitations and the fact that if Indian Affairs Branch demand higher standards they must provide the means.

2) How much better the children are fed in school than they ever are before they enter and after they leave.

The principals told McCready they would

> welcome a Government policy which would set forth what [was] expected of them, and at the same time provide the means whereby a standard could be met. As the situation is now, it is difficult to convince the Principals that we can

> help them or that they can improve very much when they are so acutely aware of being limited by financial means, supplies, essential equipment and staff.[59]

The negative assessments that McCready produced for Dr. Pett were distributed to federal health officials responsible for First Nations people. In March 1947, E. L. Stone, the Alberta regional superintendent of Indian Health Services (Department of National Health and Welfare), sent a letter to his director (Percy Moore), outlining the findings of McCready's survey of six Alberta schools from earlier in the year. He concluded:

1) That at the better schools the pupils are reasonably adequately nourished, so far as quantity of food goes.
2) That at no school does the variety of diet meet the requirements in respect to Vitamin content, and that no school principal has sufficient revenue to enable him to provide a wholly satisfactory diet, especially in fresh fruit or fruit juices.
3) That some schools could do better than they are doing with their current resources.
4) That the goodness or badness of feeding corresponds to the quality of management of the several schools in other respects.

Stone ended his letter with this observation:

> The only way I can think of by which residential school feeding can be made really satisfactory is by the Department laying down scales of food issues, providing the schools with menus, carrying out effective inspection, and paying the cost of the food. This, I believe, would be welcomed by every school principal.[60]

Pett, as the director of the Nutrition Division, further communicated directly to Indian Affairs. In a July 1947 letter to B. F. Neary, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, Pett wrote:

> I do not believe that it has been established yet by making these reports that any actual benefit is ultimately received by the Indian children. Since this is our objective, we can not continue such service indefinitely without some evidence of results. Unfortunately results await action by various people in various agencies; there must be improvement of certain facilities before our advice can be effective; there seems also to be financial adjustment needed if adequate food supplies are to be available; and finally there must be sufficient interest and intelligence on the part of the entire staff of the school to make use of further advice in the matter.[61]

The Nutrition Division had clearly informed senior officials that there was a serious problem with nutrition levels in residential schools that could be addressed only by a funding increase.

In addition to carrying out inspections, the Nutrition Division prepared a list of publications on nutrition that was circulated to residential school officials, who were told they should request the publications they wanted from their provincial health departments.[62] Menu patterns, recipes for servings of 100, and educational posters were also prepared.[63] To learn more about children's attitudes towards food, the division also organized a contest in which children in residential schools created posters relating to food and nutrition.[64]

In December 1947, Pett summarized the work the Nutrition Division had conducted over the past two years, and reached the following conclusion: "Practically no improvement has been found." On the basis of the inspections, he reached the following conclusions:

a) no school was doing a good feeding job;

b) a lack of mechanical equipment makes necessary the use of much student time on other than instruction;

c) a lack of coordinated plans for the farm to supply the school meals has caused the purchase of foods which could have been raised; this increases the costs of an adequate diet and makes our recommendations result in a demand for money, when the need is actually for a policy that combines the farm both with training and the food supply;

d) the cook frequently lacks training and is not thus able to take advantage of our assistance; efforts to correct this by a cook's course were not successful;

e) the methods used in Indian Residential Schools as reflected in their food services do not appear to be fitting Indians for their usual return to the reserve, (e.g. ignoring local foods and food habits) nor for proper understanding of white procedures.

He saw no benefit in continued visits, since "there is no value in knowing that another school is below standard nutritionally, and little benefit can be measured from these visits." He thought it had been a mistake to focus on cooks. Instead, he thought, it would be necessary to arrange conferences with principals and farm managers to discuss food and other problems. "One of the purposes of such discussions would be to evolve with their help sets of menus and tests of foods to be provided which could be priced locally and covered by a sufficient money grant in relation to the development of the farm." His final recommendation was: "Make a demonstration project of at least two schools provided the cooperation of the Indian Affairs Branch and all others concerned can be secured."

> The project would be a long term matter involving several years. A complete nutrition survey of all children would be carried out. Any essential renovations of the kitchen would have to be carried out, as well as assurance of money for the menus so as to get first class feeding. Further clinical and statistical studies would be carried out at 6 months or yearly intervals.

He thought that in one of the schools, it would be possible to study the "effects of foods containing added vitamins and minerals," and noted that food fortification was being undertaken across the United States and in other countries "without such study."[32]

The nutrition studies: 1948–1953

These final recommendations in Pett's December 1947 letter served as the basis for a series of nutritional experiments involving six residential schools in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In April 1948, Pett distributed an outline for a five-year nutritional study of the effects on the "physical, dental and mental health of children, aged 7 to 16, of an institutional feeding program extending over at least 5 years." It would involve the "comparisons of different curative and preventative measures, such as providing foods or capsules containing minerals, vitamins etc that observation shows to be needed." The schools were to serve as "demonstrations of what can be done in certain directions by adequate financial assistance and full cooperation by federal departments and the churches and schools involved." It was expected that the "study would thus provide a basis for whatever improvement is needed in other schools." As defined, the project was a considerably scaled-down version of what he had proposed in 1947.

Pett initially recommended that the study be undertaken at the Alberni, Edmonton, Prince Albert, Kenora, and Shubenacadie schools. In the case of Kenora, he recommended that the study be carried out at both the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian schools in that community. He also wished to see the study extended, if possible, to residential schools in Kamloops, Spanish, and Brantford.[33]

The purpose of the studies

According to an April 1948 document that appears to have been prepared for school principals expected to be involved in the study, the project was to be "especially concerned with the effects that can be produced by special feeding programs, having due regard to cost, convenience, availability, etc." Pett assured them, "Any extra cost or arrangements will be met by the government departments concerned." The

main purpose of the "long term nutrition study is to explore various dietary methods that could be employed, as economically as possible, to maintain and improve the health of Indians." Residential schools were ideal places to carry out such a study: adult dietary troubles were seen as "usually begin in childhood." It was more convenient to conduct such studies in schools rather than in the general population; the schools were prepared to co-operate and provided a stable population that could be studied for several years.[7]

Pett wrote that the project was designed to answer the following questions:

1) Are conditions observed in Northern Manitoba found elsewhere in Canada? [The northern Manitoba study is discussed at a later point in this chapter.]

2) What type of food service in residential schools will economically provide the best maintenance of health and carry over desirable food habits to the reserve?

3) Will foods fortified with vitamins and minerals provide demonstrable results over the course of 3 years?

4) Can health educational methods be introduced effectively in these schools?[8]

Although Pett identified four questions, most of the research centred on issues raised in the third question. This arose from, and related to, ongoing debates over nutritional issues in Canada.

The debate on vitamin enriched flour in Canada

Pett's interest in question 3—whether foods fortified with vitamins and minerals would provide "demonstrable results"—was raised in response to an ongoing debate among nutritionists of the day. By 1940, nutritional researchers in Canada and government regulators outside Canada had concluded that adding vitamins to flour would improve public health in general, and the health of undernourished populations in particular. The possibility of enriching or fortifying flour (and the bread made from it) was relatively new. It was not until the mid-1930s that it became possible to synthesize and commercially produce vitamins. The first vitamin so produced was ascorbic acid (vitamin c) in 1934.[9] Thiamine (a b vitamin) was synthesized in 1936.[10] Flour was seen as a logical product to which vitamins could be added, for two reasons. First, conventional milling practices of the day, by removing the germ and the outer coat of the wheat kernel, eliminated from the flour the eight interrelated vitamins collectively known as the "vitamin b complex," and minerals such as iron and calcium. Enrichment was seen as largely a matter of adding synthesized versions of these vitamins and minerals back to the flour. Second, because bread and other cereals played

a central role in Canadian—as well as European and American—diets, such fortification could vastly improve the general population's consumption of these vitamins and minerals.[1]

Prior to the 1940s, Canadian nutritional experts were doubtful of the benefits of the addition of specific vitamins to the general Canadian diet.[2] It was felt that if they were granted sufficient income, Canadians could meet their nutritional needs through the purchase and consumption of a properly prepared variety of foods.[3] Concern over the nutritional status of Canadians increased after the release of surveys carried out by the Canadian Council of Nutrition. These indicated rampant deficiencies in vitamins A and B, iron, and calcium.[4] Concern had also been raised in 1940 over the unwilling acceptance by the Canadian diet.[5]

Similar findings in Britain and the United States led to the adoption of flour-enrichment policies in those countries. The United States adopted flour-enrichment standards in May 1941, and by mid-1941, three-quarters of the white bread and family flour sold in the United States was enriched with thiamine, dry milk, niacin (vitamin B3), and iron. Riboflavin (another B vitamin) was added in 1943. Bread enrichment was made mandatory in the United States in 1943.[6] In 1940, the British government mandated the addition of thiamine to bread, but this was delayed due to wartime conditions. In 1941, the addition of calcium carbonate to flour was also made mandatory.[7]

Rather than mandating the addition of vitamins to flour, the Canadian government preferred to encourage the use of milling processes that retained the natural vitamin levels. It was thought that this would provide greater health benefits than the American or British processes, which added only some of the complex of a vitamin that milling removed. New "high extraction" milling processes would retain two to three times more thiamine (part of the vitamin B complex) than the regular milling method. Those milled to this fashion could be labelled "Canada Approved vitamin B white flour" and "Canada Approved vitamin B flour." Using this milling process remained optional—although the early Canada's Official Food Rules recommended the use of Canada Approved flours. As such, the Nutrition Division regularly recommended that nutritional schools serve students bread made from Canada Approved flour. It was also the case that students were not served such flour.

By 1941 Order-in-Council that confirmed the Canada Approved designation on flour flours also made it illegal to add synthetic vitamins to flour or bread. The measure was intended to prevent manufacturers from adding vitamins to bread without knowing what impact that might have. The Canada Approved flours did not gain much acceptance: after two and a half years on the market, they amounted to only 3% of the flour sold in the country.[8] This meant it was likely that, when it came to formally mete-

visors and made recommendations for additional improvements.[106] The difficulty that a number of institutions generally had in hiring and keeping kitchen staff, and the poor quality of kitchen facilities, were remarked upon in several instances.[107] It was also noted that, at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, the "supper menus lack variety and often do not provide sufficient food; this can be largely attributed to financial limitations."[108] This was, of course, the underlying problem.

Indian Affairs sent copies of these reports to church officials, to principals, and to local Indian agents in the fall of 1908. It instructed the recipients to review the reports and prepare comments on the recommendations contained within them.[109] It would appear from the record, then, that the dietary surveys carried out as part of the nutrition study produced documents that recommended improvements in diet at the schools, and that these recommendations were distributed to organizations responsible for the schools in the fall of 1908. In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has located no document containing an instruction from Peter or his staff that, as a part of the survey, dietary deficiencies not be addressed in 1908 or that diets be held at their pre-1907 levels to serve as a baseline for the study. (As will be seen, nutrition clinics in the fall of 1908 and the spring of 1909 were used to establish student health baselines.)

Of course, without a funding increase from Indian Affairs, improvements were all but impossible. In October 1908, J. O. Plourde of the Oblates office in Ottawa responded to the criticisms of the Catholic school in Kenora by observing that an increase in the school's per capita grant was needed if the school was to "supply the varied foods asked by your dietician."[110] The 1908 dietary surveys had generated the sorts of results that Dr. Peter had predicted in his December 1907 report; and there had been little improvement. Recommendations to feed children diets in keeping with the Food Rules had been met with protestations of understanding from the schools, and Indian Affairs did not provide significant increases to the per capita grant.

Upon review of the nutritionists' reports, Peter excluded some schools that he had originally selected for participation in the study. Conditions at the school in Prince Albert were too "unsettled" during the period that a new school was being set up to include the school in the study.[111] The Edmonton school had been selected because of its similarity to the Prince Albert school; when Prince Albert was dropped, a decision was made to drop the Edmonton school as well.[112] The final decision on which schools to include in the study was not made until July 1908, when it was decided to drop both the Edmonton and Prince Albert schools from the study and replace them with the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools near Cardston, Alberta.[113] A January 1908 assessment of the Anglican school near Cardston had stated that "the sanitary and hygienic [sic] conditions are very clean and tidy and that the food quality is good. The report shows that the foods are suitably prepared and cooked for immediate service."[114]

The study begins: 1948 nutrition clinics

Once the schools were selected, Pett then supervised two nutrition clinics. At these clinics, doctors and dentists conducted medical and dental examinations of all students, and took blood samples to determine the levels of protein, hemoglobin (an iron-containing protein in the blood), and certain vitamins. From these tests, he would develop his baseline of student health.[109] At the Shubenacadie school, as part of the nutrition clinic, the students were given a dental prophylaxis treatment. ("Prophylaxis" is a medical treatment or medication intended to prevent an undesired outcome. In the dental context of the period, it would be the removal of a buildup of minerals on the teeth, usually called "tartar," and the polishing of teeth.) It is not clear if such a treatment was provided at the other schools in the survey. It was requested that no dentist visiting the schools outside the survey provide prophylactic treatment.[110] Films, filmstrips, and slide-show presentations were also included in the clinics.[111] Although there is no report of which films were shown, in his correspondence from this period, Pett recommended that the *Why We Eat* filmstrips be used in educational work among Aboriginal people.[112] The nutrition study had a significant communications component that was directed at both staff and students with the intention of informing them about the benefits of vitamins and minerals in certain foods. However, there is no indication that, at any point, the parents of the children were contacted to see if they would provide consent for participation in the study.

The first nutrition clinics were completed by October 1948. Pett wrote that he had examined 824 students. He noted, "This group is not a statistically 'random' sample, but it may approach a fair 'average' because it contained both bad and good influences. At least half the children examined came from broken homes: broken by death, destitution, disease, desertion, etc."[113]

The second set of dietary surveys was held early in 1949; the second nutrition clinics were conducted in April and May 1949.[114] From this, reports were prepared of "the basic conditions observed at each school." On the basis of these reports, Pett developed a course of action for each school for the following four years.[115]

The nutrition clinic results

Pett prepared statistical tables that summarized the results of the nutritional clinics in the fall of 1948 and the spring of 1949. He also had summaries of menus and servings for two months in the fall of 1948 and February 1949. This information played a significant role in the decisions he then made about which changes to incorporate at each school in the fall of 1949. Through this process, Pett was attempting to identify both dietary deficiencies at the school and health conditions that could be addressed by the addition of vitamins and minerals to the diet. Then, the dietary interventions

would serve as a form of treatment. The diets were examined according to the degree to which they conformed to eight Canada's Food Rules categories. Diets that were at the minimum or below the minimum in one to three of eight categories were categorized as "borderline" diets; a borderline diet would be above the minimum in five of the eight categories.

At the Anglican school in Cardston, the percentage of students with hemoglobin, ascorbic acid, and niacin deficiencies increased from the fall 1948 to the spring 1949 nutritional clinic, and the percentage with vitamin A deficiencies decreased. The percentage of students identified with poor posture and enlarged tonsils increased, and the percentage of cases of students who were underweight and thin decreased. Pett described the results as "one of the best showings in this project." In reviewing the reports of meals served at the school in October, November, and February of that school year, he observed that "no poor diets" were reported. In two months, 100% of the meals were described as being borderline, and, in the third month, 99% of the meals were described as being borderline. Over 75% of the meals were at or below the minimum for at least two Food Rules categories in October, November, and February.[116]

During the winter, the percentage of students with a low hemoglobin condition, and riboflavin, vitamin A, ascorbic acid, and niacin deficiencies increased at the Catholic school in Cardston. The percentage of students with sensory abnormalities (poor reflexes) increased from 1.8% in the fall to 6% as well during this period. (This was associated with a possible thiamine deficiency.) Problems with dental caries (cavities), gingivitis (inflammation of the gums), and posture also increased. The percentage of students with protein deficiency decreased, and the percentage of students who were underweight or had blood-pressure problems decreased. In the three months for which meals were assessed, 94%, 95%, and 97% of the meals were deemed to be borderline (the rest of the meals in each month were deemed to be poor). Fifty per cent of the meals in each period were at or below the minimum in three food categories.[117]

At the Catholic school in Kenora, the percentage of students with deficiencies in the following categories decreased over the winter: hemoglobin levels, riboflavin, vitamin A, ascorbic acid, gingivitis, and posture. During the same period, the percentage of students with protein deficiency in their diet decreased. A review of the meal summaries indicated that 100% of the meals reviewed in October and November of 1948 were of borderline quality. However, in February 1949, 44% were deemed to be poor. In each period, over 90% of the meals were at or below the minimum in at least two Food Rules categories.[118]

During the winter, the percentage of students at the Presbyterian school in Kenora with low hemoglobin levels increased from 21.2% to 63.3%. The percentage of students with deficiencies in riboflavin and ascorbic acid, and the percentage of students with possible niacin deficiencies, also increased, as did the percentage of gingivitis cases.

Eleven per cent of the meals reported on in October and November were assessed as being good, and 20% of the meals assessed in February 1949 were assessed as being good. The rest of the meals were borderline. In the two fall assessments, over 50% of the meals were at or below the minimum in two Food Rules categories. In February 1949, 20% of meals were at the minimum in all groups, and 76% of meals were at or above the minimum in all but one Food Rules recommendation.[119] This was the best record for meals of the six schools. At no other school did any of the meals rise above the borderline level.

At the Shubenacadie school, the percentage of students with ascorbic acid deficiency increased from the fall to the spring, and the percentage of students with hemoglobin and niacin deficiencies decreased. The percentage of students with what was defined as "possible" protein deficiency fell from 9.8% to zero. The percentage of students with gingivitis increased from 50% to 68%. There were improvements to the percentage of students deemed to be underweight or thin, or to have blood-pressure problems. All the meals were in the borderline classification. In September, 62% of the meals were at the minimum or below in two Food Rules categories. In November and February, this had improved: 95% of the meals were at or above the minimum in all but one Food Rules category.[120]

At the Alberni school, the percentage of students with riboflavin and ascorbic acid deficiencies increased over the winter, and the percentage of students with gingivitis also increased. There was improvement in hemoglobin levels, in niacin and protein deficiencies, and in reductions in the percentage of students judged to be thin, underweight, and having poor posture and enlarged tonsils. These results were described as "possibly the best showing of any school in the project." The percentage of borderline meals ranged from 97% in September, to 96% in November, to 93% in February 1949. Three per cent of the meals in September were poor, 3% of the November meals were poor, and 7% of the February 1949 meals were poor. Over 70% of the meals in each of September, November, and January were at or below the minimum in at least two Food Rules categories.[121]

From the above it is apparent that during the period before Pett introduced changes to the school diets, school diets were subject to fluctuation. The fact that only one of the schools was ever able to provide more than borderline diets (above the minimum in five of the eight categories) to the students makes it clear that none of these schools were feeding students diets that were in keeping with Canada's Food Rules.

The interventions

With the establishment of starting points for each school, it was Pett's intent to change "one aspect of the food supply in each school," and to study the effect of that

change. He began determining those changes in June of 1949.[122] The decisions were made on the basis of the surveys described above, and logistics.

He settled on the following interventions.[123]

1. An increase in milk consumption at the Alberni school

The objective of the Alberni school intervention was: "Double the milk consumption, so that average is clearly above 1 pint per child per day, using skim or whole dried milk." The Alberni school had the "highest incidence of riboflavin deficiency signs" in the six schools covered by the survey. (Milk is a major source of riboflavin.)[124] Pett noted that although "nutritionists so frequently recommend increased milk consumption," there was "very little evidence of the exact health values to be obtained thereby."[125] (Eventually, the milk servings were tripled.)

2. Test benefits of ascorbic acid (vitamin c) tablets at the Shubenacadie school

Half the students at the Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia were to be given 100 milligrams of ascorbic acid a day.[126] This was in response to a "considerable increase during the winter in the number of children showing low blood levels of ascorbic acid, and in the amount of gingivitis." (Studies of Canadian airmen had concluded that diets containing seventy-five milligrams of ascorbic acid a day retarded the occurrence of gingivitis more effectively than diets with lower levels of ascorbic acid.)[127]

3. Introduce Newfoundland flour at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora

Newfoundland flour was to be introduced at the Roman Catholic school (St. Mary's) in Kenora. This decision was made due to the "high incidences of riboflavin deficiency" among students at the school. (Newfoundland flour was enriched with riboflavin.) The fact that a flour mill near Kenora was already milling flour for the Newfoundland market contributed to the decision to introduce Newfoundland flour at this school.[128]

4. Introduce educational measures at the Presbyterian school in Kenora

Students and staff at the Presbyterian school in Kenora (Cecilia Jeffrey school) were to be given education on the benefits of certain foods. The decision to introduce educational measures was due to the fact that the school administration was seen to be co-operative and the school was comparatively accessible to Ottawa. The educational measures would focus on the benefits of foods containing iron and ascorbic acid. (The

nutrition clinics had identified low hemoglobin and ascorbic acid levels in students at this school.)

5. Introduce flour with a high natural B vitamin content at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston

This flour (Canada Approved vitamin B flour) was to be introduced at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston. Although the students at the school had not shown a high degree of thiamine deficiency, they showed "as much or more sensory changes as any other school." (This refers to the increase in the number of students with poor reflexes between the fall and spring nutrition clinics.)

6. Use the Anglican school at Cardston as a control for the Roman Catholic school at Cardston

Because the health of the students at the Anglican school in Cardston "was reasonably maintained or improved during the winter," it was selected as a control school. Pett advised the principal that he wanted "things to go on much as they have been, without any change in diet or menu or cooking."[129]

Although it was termed a "control school," the Anglican school at Cardston was used as a control only for the nearby Roman Catholic school. Pett actually used a variety of controls. In all cases, the health of the student population (based on a series of tests) over the five-year period was compared against the results of the health clinics that were held prior to the introduction of diet interventions. In this way, the students served as their own controls. This was the only form of control at the Alberni school. In his writings on the Alberni school, Pett did not test results from that school with results at any other school.[130] At the Shubenacadie school, the students who received a placebo served as a second form of control. In his published paper on the Shubenacadie school, Pett never compared test results from that school with results at any other school. The Kenora schools were used as controls for each other. In his paper on the results of the introduction of Newfoundland flour, Pett compared the results from the Catholic school with the Presbyterian school in Kenora (although he did not name the schools).[131] Pett never published the results of the study at the Cardston schools. However, it is clear from the other papers that he never compared the results from the Anglican school in Cardston with those from schools in other provinces. He did not explicitly state this, but it is apparent from his other writing that Pett recognized that schools in different regions of the country fed students very different diets. Therefore, it would have been meaningless to use a single school as a control for schools across the country.[132]

Pett sought to have the schools receive additional funding for participation in the program.[133] He appears to have succeeded in doing so for at least some of the schools.[134]

For example, the Alberni school was able to spend $4,137 on milk in the first year of the program. The value of the previous year's milk supply had been $2,000.[135] Pett also requested and received special assurance that the use of Newfoundland flour would not violate Canadian food and drug regulations that prohibited the addition of synthetic vitamins to flour or bread outside Newfoundland.[136]

To summarize: at the Alberni school and the Roman Catholic school in Alberta, the changes that Pett introduced (increasing the milk serving and introducing Canada Approved vitamin B flour) were completely in keeping with the existing national dietary standard—Canada's Food Rules. At the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, he introduced an enriched flour that had been tested on the entire population of Newfoundland for the previous five years. Researchers both in Newfoundland and Canada had recommended earlier that such flour be provided to members of communities who were malnourished. Since all three of these schools were regularly at the minimum or below in at least two Food Rules categories, the interventions, on their own, would still mean that the schools were serving borderline diets that were not in keeping with the country's dietary standard. At Shubenacadie, half the students received an increased dosage of ascorbic acid to see if that would improve their resistance to gingivitis. This was in keeping with the recommendations from recent Canadian research that had suggested ascorbic acid retarded the development of gingivitis. The provision of vitamin supplements to half the students would not lift the school out of the borderline category. The types of interventions that Pett was testing would not, on their own, have addressed the underlying nutrition problems of the schools, which were created by lack of food supply, poorly trained staff, and inefficient equipment. These problems could be overcome only by substantially increased funding.

The Anglican school in Cardston and the Presbyterian school in Kenora had been judged to have the fewest issues with nutritional deficiency. As such, they were selected to serve as controls for the Catholic schools in their community, although the Presbyterian school was made the subject of an educational campaign. As a result, diets at these schools would remain in the borderline category. The potential existed for the Presbyterian school to move beyond this category, if, as a result of the education program, the administration were to institute improvements in the menu. However, no extra money was provided for such purchases. The changes were introduced at the beginning of the 1949–50 school year. This was less than two years after the program had been proposed. Three of the schools were selected only in the spring and summer of 1949, one year before the changes were introduced. Until the fall of 1949, recommendations from the Nutrition Division on diet at the schools had called for the use of menus that were in keeping with Canada's Food Rules. As will be discussed later in this chapter, once the changes were implemented, Pett requested that the schools not change their diets without his knowledge.

What the schools were expected to do

Other than switching flours, increasing milk servings, or providing students with vitamin tablets (or placebos), the major expectation of the schools was the maintenance of food records that were to be forwarded to Ottawa. According to the document outlining the program:

> It is important for this study to get as good a record as possible of:
>
> (a) The kinds and amounts of foods served—i.e. the children's menus—for a 7 day period each month throughout the school year. Once in the Fall and once in the Winter there will be recorded with the help of a nutritionist. Other times these menus will be mailed to the Nutrition Division by the school.
>
> (b) The extra foods between meals (candy, soft drinks, oranges, etc.) and second helpings at meals[illegible] eaten by each individual—for a 7 day period about five times throughout the school year. This will be recorded by a nutritionist.
>
> (c) Foods purchased and farm produce.
>
> Special forms have been worked out to simplify the work of keeping these records, and the help of a nutritionist will be available, but a good part of the work on these records will have to be done by the school staff. For the school year 1948–49 no changes in menu will be suggested [this referred to the types of changes that would be introduced in the 1949–50 school year, such as the increase in milk or the switch to enriched flour], but some standardization of servings will be attempted. On the basis of what is recorded plus the clinical examinations, it may be necessary to get special equipment, foods, etc. These will be bought and installed by the government at no cost to the school.
>
> Therefore the work on the school records is the only direct help asked of the school staff.[137]

There was also an intent to carry out intelligence and aptitude tests at least once during the study.[138] These do not appear to have been carried out—there is no reference to them in any of the available correspondence.[139]

School staff had additional responsibilities at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, which Pett had selected for "testing educational work, both in the kitchen and in the classrooms."[140] Junior classes were to engage in activities such as drawing, colouring, and mounting pictures of fruits and vegetables.[141] Songs were also used to educate children.[142] Intermediate classes would discuss what effects fruits and vegetables have on the body; and senior students would discuss medical test results, and learn about vitamin C and iron.[143] In early November 1948, a school staff member concluded that educational materials provided by the Nutrition Division were having an impact. She wrote that the primary class students had memorized the poster messages, and these

was a noticeable improvement in the senior class students' attention to brushing their teeth. Many students had been taking it upon themselves to buy their own toothpaste.[34] The fact that students had been convinced to purchase their own toothpaste not only underscored the benefits of the educational program, but also demonstrated how poorly supplied the schools were.

In September 1951, Pett provided this summary of how the educational program had been entertained at the school.

> An attempt has been made to study the effects of the educational method. Visits have been made every year by one or more nutritionists from the Nutrition Division, usually for a one week period, for the purpose of explaining thoroughly to the Principal and the entire staff the nature of the study and the results to date. With this basic understanding, the teachers have explored with our nutritionists methods of introducing instruction into the classroom on the two health aspects that particularly need attention. According to the preliminary survey, these two health aspects of the Cecilia Jeffrey School were the number of children with a low hemoglobin that might be influenced by adding more iron containing foods, and, two, the number of children in need of extra vitamin C, or ascorbic acid. Each year the teachers have explored some new ways of presenting the facts about these two classes of food stuffs, and the farmer and the principal have cooperated in making the necessary foods available insofar as possible.[35]

[illegible] to schools

Pett lobbied for a number of improvements to school facilities. As part of the study, a dishwasher was installed at the Shoal Lake school.[36] For the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Pett provided the government with specifications for an improved kitchen sink that would meet the Ontario public health regulations for cooling establishments.[37] In 1948, the Anglican school at Cambridge required a new hobart mixer, bread mixer, potato peeler, bread slicer, electric mixer, and walk-in refrigerator. The need for several of these items had been identified by previous Nutrition Division inspections.[38] In June 1949, Indian Affairs provided funding for the purchase of an industrial potato peeler.[39] In October 1949, Superintendent R. D. Rogers reminded Indian Affairs that the "provincial health inspector urges immediate steps be taken to give this school proper refrigeration."[40] In that same month, Indian Affairs submitted a requisition for the needed refrigerator.[41] Indian Affairs officials also argued for the provision of a potato peeler for the Roman Catholic school at Cambridge.[42] A new hobart mixer was installed in the school in 1950.[43]

Pett also spoke out in favour of the hiring of a second cook at the Alberni school, the replacement of that school's antiquated bread slicer, and the purchase of an electric

[illegible] argued that without an additional cook, the study would be jeopardized, since the current cook would not have time to both prepare all the meals and maintain proper records. A proper bread slicer was needed to ensure that the children all received uniform slices of bread. The miner would relieve the staff and student work-load. "It is impossible," he wrote, "for women or children to rule or keep the quantity of food that is required for [illegible]."[13]

Problems that arose during the course of the study

The research projects did not run smoothly. Although school administrators often expressed interest in the project, it never became a high priority in schools that were struggling with understaffing, deteriorating buildings, poor relations with the Aboriginal community, and truancy.

High levels of staff turnover also created ongoing problems for the nutrition study. At the Presbyterian school in Kenora, the nurse was intended to be on providing nutrition education to students and staff. Throughout the entire period of the study, it appears that the school did not have a competent cook. The 1948 nutrition survey had reported that the elderly cook was expected to resign soon.[14] In January 1950, school principal C. C. Ross wrote that although the school was trying to follow Prof's instructions,

> we have been very conscious of the handicap of inexperienced personnel in the kitchen. During most of last year we allowed Mrs. C. [illegible] to do her best in the kitchen. Despite the lack of cleaning and some losses, cleaning [illegible] became necessary in the last go. We have been without a kitchen [illegible] almost two months, and have had to depend on the services of other members of staff – some [illegible] for the task.[15]

Despite Ross's commitment to the nutrition program, in May 1950, Nutrition Division staff wrote to Ross, asking for food records and menus that he had promised to send in March.[16]

It is not hard to discover why the records had not been sent. In a letter to the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society (PWMS) in March 1950 (the society had aided the administration of the school on behalf of the Presbyterian Church and raised funds to support its operations), Ross wrote that "the way in which we have been [illegible] to keep up a high standard of planned menus, and at the same time keep within our budget I can not describe. I have an [illegible] as I can't [illegible]."

Although he was clearly discouraged, he had begun to think that matters were improving.[17] But, by the beginning of May, the school was once again without kitchen staff.[18] A month later, Ross announced he had just fired the latest cook. He

[illegible] rising food costs. He informed Pott, "We have maintained the same standard of diet in spite of rising costs ... but no increase in revenue. This matter of cost rests, I am afraid, more into one continued maintenance of our present standard of diet." Since 1939, while milk prices had increased by 12% and skimmed milk costs by 82%, Caldwell was writing Pott's successor that the federal government would continue to provide a special grant to cover the additional milk purchase. Caldwell wrote on to say, "Since 1947 our per capita meal costs have doubled, from 27¢ to 54¢ [quoting to the end of 1950, and the increase in the C. O. L. [cost of living] has accelerated since then."[illegible]

Due to rising costs, Caldwell was eventually forced to increase the portion of skimmed milk being served to students. Where, initially, two-thirds of the school milk supply had been whole milk and one-third was skimmed milk, by November 1952, the balance was reversed to one-third whole milk and two-thirds skimmed milk.[illegible]

Pott monitored the diet issue and the results of the nutrition clinics, and showed school officials to problems he identified. In August 1951, he noted that "the protein levels in all schools have been declining. When the food records are taken this winter special attention to protein servings will be needed."[illegible] Pott informed the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora of his concern over "a drop in the consumption of citrus fruits and tomatoes" in 1952.[illegible] He was also disturbed by a drop in milk consumption at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora in that year. He advised the principal, "Milk is too important nutritionally to allow this downward trend to continue."[illegible]

These problems were not limited to the schools involved in the study. Table 27.1 indicates that Canada did increase its residential school funding during this time. Over a five-year period, residential school funding increased, on a per student basis, by 70%. After adjusting for inflation, this is an increase of 12%.[illegible]

Table 27.1: Indian Affairs funding of residential schools, 1948–49 to 1952–53.

Year	Number of Students	Total Expenditures	Per Student Expenditures
1948–49	9,268	$1,313,782.80	$141.76
1949–50	9,314	$1,514,000.00	$162.56
1950–51	9,857	$1,708,138.36	$173.29
1951–52	9,849	$1,771,509.00	$179.79
1952–53	10,119	$1,905,870.19	$188.31
1953–54	11,190	$2,180,559.00	$194.87

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1949, 109, 114; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1950, 98, 84; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1951, 113, 121; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1952, 123, 129; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1953, 80–83; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1954, 82–85.

As is demonstrated by correspondence from the administrators of schools not involved in the nutrition study, this increase was not sufficient to allow the schools to meet Canada's Food Rules. In responding to a dietician's recommendation in 1949 that the Morley, Alberta, school enlarge and renovate its kitchen, and install a walk-in refrigerator, George Dorey of the United Church's Board of Home Missions said that Indian Affairs should pay for such improvements. He wrote:

> We also note that suggestions are made for the purchasing of certain foods and that the Principal is doing his best to get these items; but, as a matter of fact, we have to draw the attention of the Department again to the fact that oranges are not grown in British Columbia nor in Alberta. They have to be imported from the United States and they cost a good deal of money. I might say that the same question of cost no doubt applies to the matter of getting another cook; but so long as Department of National Health pays the salaries that they do to cooks in their hospitals and the Department of Indian Affairs does not increase the grants so that the Schools can at least compete with this other Department of the Government, I am afraid that very little improvement can be made.[107]

A 1951 survey of the Shoal Lookout, Ontario, school by Pett's office raised concerns about the use of lard at the school, since it contains no vitamin A. The inspector also noted that consumption of vegetables and milk was low at the school. It was recommended that the school use margarine fortified with vitamin A. Pett's office also recommended increased consumption of fruits or fruit juices, cabbage and turnip, and potatoes cooked in their peels; the substitution of fortified margarine for lard; and an increase in milk consumption through the addition of skimmed-milk powder to various foods.[108] The superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, H. G. Cook, noted, "One big problem is, of course, finances and this angle of the matter will have to be taken up with Indian Affairs Branch."[109]

A 1951 review of the diet at the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school concluded that the menu appeared to be nutritionally inadequate—particularly in the provision of protein, calcium, thiamine, and riboflavin—and lacked variety.[110] The Nutrition Division issued a recommended menu, based on Canada's Food Rules. Once again, Anglican official Cook pointed out that the menu was beyond the financial reach of the schools.

> I must be honest with you and state that with the present high cost of meat there's not a hope in the world of our being able to give the youngsters all the meat the diet sheet recommended. As for giving the children meat twice on the same days as the sheets suggest some of our Principals have found it necessary to institute meatless days to remain within the school budget. If however Indian Affairs could increase our per capita [sic] grants to allow for the recommended diets being put into practice we would be only too glad to follow the diets recommended.

In thanking the Nutrition Division officials for their advice, Cook wrote, "It must be disconcerting to such people as yourself and Miss Macbeth to make honest recommendations and then be told that it is impossible for us to carry them out but I do hope you appreciate our financial position."[211]

Despite warnings from public health officials, Indian Affairs was unwilling to spend money to ensure that the food supply in some schools was healthy. In 1948, it was reported that the milk at the Mohawk Institute dairy had high bacterial counts. As a result, local health inspectors were considering ordering an end to "the milk service until improvements in the handling of it are made." Indian Affairs was also informed that at the Mohawk Institute, "children get the skim milk" while the butter fat was sold. Ice for the school was being taken from a canal "which had been condemned for the use of drinking water."[212] Three years later, the students at the Mohawk Institute were still being served unpasteurized milk. The medical officer for the school, Harold Palmer, wrote that he had raised this issue many times in the past with Indian Affairs, but the department had been unwilling to come up with the $2,400 a year needed to pasteurize the school's milk.[213]

It is impossible to state with any assurance how consistent diets were at the six schools involved in the study, given the gaps in the record and the lack of menu planning at several schools. However, the schools' ability to improve the quality, variety, or amount of food they served would have been governed by funding. All the evidence indicates that underfunding led to deterioration of the diet at some points during the course of the studies, and that this deterioration was—at least in some cases—observed by Pett and drawn to the attention of the principals.

Results

Pett's work suffered in a number of ways because of the limited nutritional knowledge of the time. For example, his work did not take into consideration the way that inadequate diet affects the human metabolism, or the growth stages of the students. Pett does not appear to have prepared a single, overall report on the nutrition project. An academic paper, co-written by Pett, was published on the Shubenacadie study. In addition, he made conference presentations on the results found at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, and at the United Church school in Alberni, British Columbia.[214]

Alberni

An abstract of the presentation Pett made on the Alberni school reported on the results of the tripling of the milk supply at the school.

> Riboflavin, vitamin A and niacin deficiencies were dramatically reduced to a low level 1/8 that of the base. Other specific deficiencies were halved. General weight levels improved. There was no improvement in haemoglobin, ascorbic acid nutrition, or protein levels, all of which were average to start. Respiratory infections, enlarged (or infected) tonsils, and various minor illnesses declined.[215]

Shubenacadie

In the paper they published on the Shubenacadie results, Pett and his co-author, G. H. Ogilvie, estimated that all students at the school received about fifty milligrams of ascorbic acid a day from their diet. In addition, half the students received an additional 100 milligrams of ascorbic acid as a supplement, while the other half of the student body was supplied with a placebo. Eighty-nine students were followed for four years. During the course of the study, the mean ascorbic acid level of those students who received the supplement rose from .45 milligrams per 100 millilitres of serum (blood) to 1.76 milligrams per 100 millilitres of serum. The group receiving the placebo also saw an increase, from .45 milligrams to .88 milligrams. Pett attributed the increase in the control group's ascorbic acid levels to "improved facilities for food preparation and more care taken in menu preparation." However, the study could find no difference in the hemoglobin levels or in the development of gingivitis between the students who received the ascorbic acid tablets and those who received the placebo.[216]

One of the purposes of the study at Shubenacadie had been to determine if ascorbic acid could retard the occurrence of gingivitis. In a 1954 memorandum, Pett noted that "there is still a tendency among some nutritionists as well as some dentists to ascribe considerable virtue to ascorbic acid in the treatment or the prevention of gingivitis." He believed that the Shubenacadie research raised questions about the benefit of such a treatment.[217]

Pett also reviewed the Shubenacadie data results to see if there was any indication that ascorbic acid (at the doses provided) could be linked to a reduction in respiratory infections. He reported that while there were differences in the group that received the vitamin supplement and the group that did not, the differences showed no strong pattern.

The Roman Catholic school in Kenora

The results of the study at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora were particularly confounding. It was at this school that Newfoundland flour had been substituted for non-enriched flour. Prior to the switch to enriched flour, 16% of the children were judged to have a low hemoglobin count. In the first year of use of enriched flour (1949–50), the percentage of students with a low hemoglobin count increased to 52%. In the second year of use of enriched flour (1950–51), the percentage of children with a low hemoglobin level declined to the still-elevated level of 39%. Pett wrote, "If enriched flour caused the increase in anemia that was found, the explanation may rest in an interference with iron absorption by the calcium or phosphate in the added bone meal."[218] When the school returned to the use of white flour, the anemia rate further declined.[219]

Even if the enriched flour did not cause the increase in anemia, it could be linked to no positive benefits. Pett concluded that the results emphasized "the danger of adding chemicals to foods on theoretical grounds without studying the physiological effect on humans, even though this is time-consuming."[220] In a paper he presented on this study to the American Institute of Nutrition in New York City in 1952, he was more explicit, concluding that the "benefits or hazards of adding chemicals to foods cannot, in the present state of knowledge, be judged on theoretical grounds or on limited animal experimentation, but need physiological testing on humans."[221]

These statements make it clear that at least some components of the nutrition survey amounted to "physiological testing on humans." It is also clear that Pett had come to view the results at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora as being negative. For example, the 1954 annual report of the Department of National Health and Welfare referred to the studies in passing, describing them as an investigation into "the possible harmful effects of bone meal in flour on hemoglobin formation."[222] This is a considerable change from the original stated goal of the studies, which was to "provide a basis for whatever improvement is needed in other schools."[223]

Several doctors who had been involved in assessing the benefit of enriched flour in Newfoundland were at the conference where Pett made his presentation. They argued that their studies showed no ill effects from the flour and suggested there was some other element in the flour that had led to the results. Pett left the meeting still of the opinion that the bone meal in the flour was interfering with absorption of iron.[224]

In 1952, Pett corresponded with Grace Goldsmith, a professor at Tulane University of Louisiana, who had conducted before-and-after studies on the impact of flour enrichment in Newfoundland. Goldsmith questioned whether the increase in anemia could be linked to the flour, saying "it is practically impossible to find any two schools which are entirely comparable." She also questioned whether the differences in the

results were statistically significant. As well, she noted that the determination of "the effect of dietary changes on this [childhood] anemia is an extremely difficult undertaking," with many variables that could skew the results.[225]

Pett defended his study, stating that his project was "as adequately controlled as any project can be on human beings." He noted that the "schools were studied with regard to their hemoglobin levels for a full year before the experimental period."[226]

The potential implications of Pett's research at the Kenora schools were serious. However, they had limited impact on government policy. In 1953, Canadian food and drug regulations were amended to allow for "calcium carbonate or edible bone meal in an amount that will provide in one pound of enriched flour not less than 500 milligrams and not more than 650 milligrams of calcium."[227] (This was the same minimum requirement for Newfoundland flour.)[228] At least one study was carried out specifically to test Pett's finding. Using non-human subjects, it concluded that a diet of enriched bread led to higher hemoglobin regeneration (higher iron levels) than diets of non-enriched bread. There was no significant adverse effect in hemoglobin regeneration when bone meal was added to the enriched bread.[229]

After the 1953 change in regulations, many milling companies stopped processing Canada Approved vitamin B flour, offering instead vitamin-enriched flours.[230] The degree to which bone meal or other calcium sources impact the absorption of iron continued to be a subject of research and debate into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[231]

The Presbyterian school at Kenora

As noted above, Pett concluded in 1952 that factors beyond his control—likely the constant staff turnover—had frustrated many of his efforts at the Presbyterian school in Kenora.[232] Despite this, it appears that there was an improvement in some health conditions at the school. In the spring of 1949, 63.3% of the students had low hemoglobin levels. By the following year, this had fallen to 19.9%, and to 14.2% by the spring of 1951.[233] In 1953, Pett informed the principal that the average hemoglobin level in the students at the most recent visit was 11.9 grams.[234] However, the variability in these statistics is reflected in the fact that in October 1948, before any educational measures were introduced at the school, 21.2% of the students had low hemoglobin levels.[235] In other words, the hemoglobin rates may well have risen and fallen independently of Pett's research. There does not appear to be a full report on the impact of the nutrition education program carried out only at this school.

The Cardston schools

Neither does there appear to be any formal final reports on the results of the studies at the two Alberta schools. The decision to introduce Canada Approved vitamin B flour at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston was made on the basis of potential deficiencies in thiamine among the students. In a letter from August 1950, Pett informed school principal Maurice LaFrance that "our records for 1950 show a definite improvement in health in your pupils in certain specific ways over the records for 1949."[236] Records from the May 1950 nutrition clinic do not report on thiamine, but they do show high deficiency levels of riboflavin and vitamin A in students at the school.[237] The results from that same clinic show that the Anglican school at Cardston had few nutrition-related health problems.[238] In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has located no further reports from these schools, although assessments of the Alberta schools were scheduled for the spring of 1953, the last year of the research project.[239]

In the wake of the diet studies, Pett remained a supporter of Canada Approved flour. When asked for his views on the type of flour that should be served in residential schools in 1955, he recommended it over other types of enriched flour, adding, "Where proper attention is paid to balancing the diet with respect to all food groups, the exact kind of flour used does not make much difference to the health that can be expected." He went on to state that in "Indian schools where a good deal of bread is expected and is used and where some of the other foods may not be eaten fully by all the children concerned, it is important that the flour make the maximum possible contribution to nutrition."[240] Pett continued to be skeptical of the overall benefit of vitamin supplements. In 1959, he wrote that although

> it is easy to hand out little or big bottles of liquids, or pills or capsules, and salve one's conscience that some of it undoubtedly does good to some of the recipients, I have seen no proof of much good from supplements that they might be considered as more suitable than proper social and economic services. The wishful thinking of 10 or 20 years ago that a few dollars worth of vitamin pills would act like a tonic, keep people working, give people initiative and keep them out of hospital, is disappearing.[241]

The withholding of dental care

The nutritional study was accompanied by a request from the federal government that certain sodium fluoride dental treatments not be provided to the students attending the schools included in the study. This stipulation was not included in Pett's initial

description of the study. In April 1948, H. K. Brown, the chief of the Dental Health Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, requested that Indian Health Services in Edmonton "refrain from using any sodium fluoride topical applications on the teeth of the children" in the Edmonton school, since it was thought at that time that the school was to be part of the nutritional study. Brown's rationale was that the study might "possibly involve nutritional factors containing fluorides." There is nothing in this correspondence to suggest that a topical fluoride dental service was actually planned for students at the Edmonton school.[103] The Edmonton school was eventually excluded from the study.

Pett had been under the impression there would be no sodium fluoride program at any of the schools selected for the study. He was surprised to learn that a sodium fluoride treatment was planned for the students at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora in the fall of 1949. Pett objected, feeling that such treatment would make it difficult to assess the results of the introduction of Newfoundland flour at the school.[104] Brown requested that the dental program be suspended until it could be determined if sodium fluoride was being used.[105] Brown explained that the planned sodium fluoride treatment and dental prophylactic treatment "would have the effect of obscuring both the gingival and the caries [tooth decay] picture." He wrote, "During the years while the nutritional study is in progress it is important that the schools included in it receive only their fair quota of the regular extraction and fill services that is provided for the average school in that area."[106] As noted earlier, as part of the annual nutrition clinic, the students, at least at Shubenacadie, were given a prophylactic treatment. In the following years, a dentist—on some occasions, Brown himself—participated in the annual nutrition clinic at the schools involved in the study.[107]

In October 1949, Brown also issued instructions to P. S. Tennant, the regional superintendent for Indian Health Services in British Columbia, that "no specialized over-all type of dental service should be provided, such as the use of sodium fluoride, dental prophylaxis or even urea compounds" at the Alberni school. Since dental caries and gingivitis were factors in assessing nutritional status, measures that affected them would also affect the ability to measure the impact of the increase in milk consumption. Brown wrote, "It is probable that Dr. Ewart fully realizes this fact and I am writing to you concerning it only as an extra precaution and lest an oversight should occur." Brown stated that the "regular filling and extraction service" would not interfere with the nutritional study. Brown's letter to Tennant appears to have been a pre-emptive move, since there is no mention in the correspondence of a planned sodium fluoride treatment at the Alberni school.[108] In January 1950, Brown also wrote to Dr. O. Lenoux, the assistant director of Indian Health Services: "If your Directorate employs a dentist to render service in the Shubenacadie school or in any other school included in this study, it is requested that the dental service be limited to fillings and

extraction and that the use of sodium fluoride and dental prophylaxis [etc] be specifically excluded."[148] There was no indication in the letter that such a treatment was planned for the students.

Prior to the provision of ascorbic acid supplements to half the students at the Shubenacadie school, Pett did arrange to have a dentist resurvey all the students at the school.[149] In addition, "a dental prophylaxis to remove calculi [tartar] was done on each child, in order that physical causes of gingivitis should be as equal as possible in both groups."[150] In March 1948, Brown asked that Indian Health Services provide him with a sufficient number of toothbrushes and toothpaste to give each student involved in the nutrition study a toothbrush.[151]

As the previous chapter on health in the schools in the post-1945 period has demonstrated, there was little in the way of dental care provided to residential school students during this period. In 1947, Indian Health Services had been unable to obtain dental services for the Kenora Indian Agency, including the residential schools in that agency.[152] The services that were available were usually limited to fillings and extractions, but did on occasion include prophylactic treatment. For example, in 1947, a dentist who treated students at the Anglican residential school at Brocket, Alberta, billed for seventy-four extractions, thirty-five fillings, and nine prophylactic treatments.[153] A dentist who visited the Alberni school in the spring of 1948, before the school was included in the nutrition survey, extracted 419 teeth, filled 188 cavities, and performed 2 prophylactic treatments.[154] The record suggests that prophylactic treatment was not provided to any residential school students on a general basis during this period.

Sodium fluoride treatment was new at the time of the nutrition studies. The first significant article outlining an effective sodium fluoride treatment technique had been published only in 1948, the year before the nutrition study was implemented in Canada. In that article, American dentist and public health official Dr. John W. Knutson wrote:

> Initial reports concerning solutions of sodium fluoride applied topically to the teeth as a prophylactic measure against caries have been confirmed by extensive clinical experience. Furthermore, the results of clinical studies designed specifically for the purpose of developing and refining one topical fluoride technic have demonstrated that four applications of a 2 per cent solution of sodium fluoride to the teeth of children effect a 40 per cent reduction in the incidence of dental caries.

It was a complicated and time-consuming process. The first application of sodium fluoride had to be preceded by a dental treatment in which the teeth were cleaned, preferably with a fine pumice paste and using a motor-driven rubber cup. The teeth to be treated were then isolated with cotton rolls, and dried with compressed air. A

solution that was 2% sodium fluoride was then applied to the teeth. It would take four applications, a week apart, to complete the treatment. It was recommended that this series of treatments be given to children at the ages of three (for the treatment of baby teeth), seven (treatment of incisors and first molars), ten (treatment of bicuspids and canines), and thirteen (treatment of second molars).[111]

This form of treatment was not widely adopted. During this period, dental care for most Canadians was provided on the basis of a patient's ability to pay. The range of care ranged from what was termed "luxury" to "charity."[112] Veterans Affairs for schoolchildren for dental work from this period provide rates for routine treatments such as fillings, extractions, and dentures, but have no rate for sodium fluoride therapies.[113] This was a period in which the causes and treatment of cavities and gum disease were still open questions. For example, into the 1940s, there was still debate over whether tooth brushing actually prevented cavities.[114]

It appears that sodium fluoride treatment was used in public health settings in the United States, but was not widely used in private practice.[115] In Canada, it does not seem to have been used in public health programs, likely since the public health focus turned to community water fluoridation.[116] Comparative studies in the fluoridation of water supply had commenced in 1945, when sodium fluoride was added to the Brantford, Ontario, water supply. The dental records of children from that community were compared with the dental records of children from Sarnia, where sodium fluoride was not being added to the water supply. The result of these studies led the Canadian dental profession to call for the fluoridation of water supplies in 1952. Fluoridation of water spread slowly: by 1969, only a third of the Canadian population had access to fluoridated water.[117] A review of the professional literature of the period suggests that sodium fluoride was also not part of routine dental care in private practice in Canada.[118]

As noted above, H. E. Brown, chief of the Dental Health Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, requested that this treatment not be provided at the schools involved in the nutrition experiments. However, it is also apparent that by the early 1950s, he questioned whether these treatments would provide effective treatment at any Canadian residential schools.

When a dentist in British Columbia sought permission to provide sodium fluoride treatment to children at residential schools on Vancouver Island in 1951, Brown pointed out that unless the sodium fluoride was applied by a trained dental technician using proper equipment, "no appreciable benefits are obtained." He said that the use of this treatment had to be "related to a good over-all dental health program."[119] It would appear that the treatment was not provided. (It was not until 1963 that courses for the training of dental hygienists were offered in Canada.)[120]

[illegible] proposed to provide southern Rhodesia assistance to formal [illegible] education and a bursary was received in 1914 when W. S. Bazeley, the regional superintendent for Indian Affairs in that province, sought the Colonial Secretary's advice about whether to introduce such a programme to enable natives to study in Rhodesia. Under this proposal, the assistance was to be applied by a director and a matron.[11] Bazeley continued to oppose Rhodes about the value of such a programme. He presented the following arguments:

> (1) While "legitimate" [illegible] southern Rhodesia whose parents make reasonable contributions have been shown to give a 60% reduction in the death rate of [illegible] there is much doubt regarding their effectiveness in the hands of others than specially trained operatives.
>
> (2) Hospitals are not widely used in the practice of [illegible]. The average native believes that he can provide a more healing influence, and in common justice by killing [illegible] while the natives are unwilling to pay a pecuniary fee in the meantime.
>
> (3) The only right of progress in operation in [illegible] Orders [illegible] and Indian Reformed] are sponsored by Arabic Associations. These [illegible] have the power of [illegible] and happiness and benefit other wives. As Orders [illegible] and [illegible] are given only to children who have already contributed [illegible] and happiness as they are regarded as wasted time to other users. This principle is followed by these members of the Arabic profession who use them to other practices — and [illegible] organized here.

Again, he stressed, "If the contact is not overpowerfully followed the work is a total loss." He believed that, in a few years, a simpler and more effective treatment would become available. For all these reasons, he said, Bazeley "would be well advised not to undertake a work of [illegible] at the present time."[12] Rhodes was convinced that the method developed by Kasteen in the 1880s was superseded by what was termed the "[illegible] Rhodes method" which required fewer treatments.[13] Rhodes was equally resistant to proposals made in 1920 to train [illegible] Rhodesian [illegible] work with Africans (a power or practice to obtain skills) containing very few [illegible]. He said that the benefits of the practice were still at the experimental stage at that time.[14]

In contrast to the late 1910s and early 1920s, southern Rhodesia responded with a new form of treatment that was not available to most Canadians. Due to large overruns to lack of sufficient funding, the dental care provided to [illegible] schools in Canada in this period was limited and inadequate. In the meanwhile it has witnessed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not focused any concepts of residential school survivors' being given southern Rhodesia dental treatments during this period. Dental treatment of any sort at residential schools was often unavailable for

Principals may have thought they had authority to grant approval for the study. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the 1940s and 1950s, when parents enrolled their children in residential school, they were required to sign an admission form acknowledging that the child was to remain in the school "under the guardianship of the Principal for such term as the Minister of Mines and Resources may deem proper."[1178] The 1953 Indian Residential School Regulations stated that the principal was to "assume the responsibilities of parent or guardian with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge."[1179] Most medical treatment provided to students during this period was provided solely on the basis of the principal's consent. Indian Affairs did not, however, use this provision as a complete authority. For example, in 1948, children were not transferred to sanatoria without the permission of parents.[1180] Similarly, in 1953, Blue Quills, Alberta, school staff acquired parental consent for five girls who needed surgery.[1181] In 1957, the principal of the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan, in giving his consent for students to participate in a research study without having consulted their parents, acknowledged that "parental permission should be obtained" before students took part in such research.[1182]

[illegible]

The health impacts of the nutrition surveys appear to have been limited. Pett's research identified a benefit for those who received an increase in milk rations. He could identify no benefit (or harm) from the increase in vitamin C or Shuttleworth. There were no reported results from the Gordon school. The results from the Roman Catholic school at Kenora led Pett to hypothesize that boys used in the flour consultant to increased anemia. The increase in anemia was reversed by 1953. Other researchers who reviewed the material at the time questioned whether the increase that Pett identified was statistically significant or attributable to the changes that Pett had introduced. At the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Pett reported no negative health outcomes and did report a reduction in anemia.[1183] The outcomes at these schools could also have been the result of the children's growth patterns and unrecorded changes in diet in the school. The principal of the Roman Catholic school stopped using Newfoundland flour without informing Pett of his decision, and it may well be the case that there were other, unrecorded, changes in diet at that school. Similarly, the constant changing of cooks at the Presbyterian school in Kenora could hardly have contributed to consistency of diet at that institution.

The studies also did not have much impact on government policy. Before the studies were undertaken, it was the position of the Nutrition Division that the schools should be feeding the students in accordance with Canada's Food Rules, that did not change after the studies. The Alberta study demonstrated that there was a clear

benefit in providing the amount of milk recommended in the Food Rules. There was, however, no special program immediately introduced to ensure that there was an adequate milk supply at all schools. There appear to have been no results arising from the use of Canada Approved flour at the Cardston Catholic school. However, in 1949, the Food Rules had ceased to specify the use of this flour.[111] There was no program developed to introduce it to other schools. The results of the study of Newfoundland flour at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora did lead to additional study of the role that bone meal might play in the absorption of iron.[112] In 1953, the Canadian government adopted new regulatory measures that allowed for the voluntary enrichment of flour with iron, thiamine, riboflavin, and niacin. The enrichment of flour remained mandatory in Newfoundland.[113] Under these provisions, the sale of flour milled to the Newfoundland requirements was legalized throughout the rest of Canada, but not made mandatory for the residential schools.[114] In other words, Canadian policy on flour enrichment was not affected by Pett's residential school studies.

The Shubenacadie study had demonstrated no additional benefit in ascorbic acid supplements, so it could be argued that the absence of a national program to provide such supplements is attributable to that study. The limits of introducing nutrition education in an underfunded system, characterized by inadequate food supply and high staff turnover, were demonstrated by the study at the Presbyterian school at Kenora.

A number of points must be made in concluding this discussion of the nutritional study. The first is that most of Pett's residential school work during this period was intended to improve the health of students. He recommended that the schools feed students to the same standard that he had recommended for all Canadians. He identified the government's failure to meet this standard. The nutrition assessments made by his staff were used by the churches as a basis to request additional funding. In 1947, Pett proposed that the government undertake a series of demonstration projects that were intended to improve nutrition at a number of schools. This project would have included a series of tests of the effectiveness of foods that had been enriched with specific vitamins and minerals. He included these in part because he was skeptical of proposals that attempted to address dietary deficiencies through the introduction of artificially enriched foods. It was his view that it was best that students (and all Canadians) have access to diets that provided them with needed vitamins and minerals that occurred naturally in foods. The vitamin and mineral study was the only portion of his proposal that was approved and funded. The changes that Pett introduced in this project were all in keeping with the Food Rules or expert recommendations. During the period that a student health baseline was being developed, Pett's staff recommended improvements to student diets. During the course of the study, Pett requested that schools inform him of any proposed changes in student diet. There is no record of his opposing changes—and there are examples of principals changing the diets without consulting with Pett.

Against this record, one has to balance the fact that the nutritional study was an experiment conducted on human subjects without appropriate consent. It may well be the case that if parents were provided with all the information required to make an informed decision, they would have given consent. In many cases, the risks were low, and, in some cases, such as at Alberni, the benefits were considerable. Parents might have been willing to have their children forego sodium fluoride treatment, which was a brand-new treatment whose effectiveness required access to specially trained staff. But parents were denied the opportunity to weigh the benefits and drawbacks of participation in the study. The decision not to seek consent is a reflection of one of the underlying failures of residential school thinking: the belief that the views of Aboriginal parents were, at best, irrelevant, and, at worst, a barrier to progress. This paternalistic attitude is also a reflection of the colonial origins of residential schooling, and expressed itself in dozens of ways, the most obvious two being the lack of parental choice as to whether children would attend residential school, and the lack of parental input into what students would be taught. In the case of diet and nutrition, however, the major scandal of this period was not the survey that Pett oversaw in six schools from 1948 to 1953. It was the failure of the government to act on Pett's recommendation to provide the schools with the food, facilities, and staff required to feed the students at a level in keeping with Canada's Food Rules.

The early 1950s

The overall problems that the Nutrition Division had identified in the late 1940s continued to prevail into the early 1950s. During the final years of the nutrition study, Pett also worked with the Anglican schools in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and Alert Bay, British Columbia, in an effort to improve school diets. It was an ongoing challenge to find a way to provide meals that were nutritious, filling, and affordable. At the Prince Albert school, a Nutrition Division menu was also introduced in the spring of 1952. Principal A. J. Scrase indicated that during the first week, "children complained that there was not enough to eat and that they would be starved by the end of the week!" According to Scrase, "the children are used to more bulk such as bread and potatoes." It was also thought that the meat rations were too small for the older children.[289] During the second week, potatoes and bread were supplemented to meals that had been judged to be "too light."[290] In June 1952, Pett thought the menus at the Alert Bay and Prince Albert schools were finally comparable with the Canadian dietary standard for twelve-year-old boys.[291] This work contributed to the development of new ration lists for the schools that were distributed in July 1952. The lists provided guidance in the purchasing of the needed amounts of food items per person per quarter-year.[292]

Although Pett clearly found the work to be frustrating, H. M. Jones, the director of Indian Affairs, concluded that the "intensive inspection and study of residential schools" that the Nutrition Division had conducted a few years earlier had "resulted in significant improvements in the equipment and operation of these institutions." In December 1953, he asked Pett to "enlarge the scope of attention" given to residential schools, by having a number of recently opened or renovated schools inspected.[293] In his response, Pett noted that the Nutrition Division had largely lost touch with residential schools in the previous years. He wrote that he and his staff

> have never felt that we had the authority to arrange visits to schools on a systematic basis. While there has never been any rudeness from schools, there have been occasions when the reception made it clear that our position in relation to the Indian Affairs Branch and even to Indian Health Services was not sufficient in the eyes of the school to justify our intrusion. In contrast to this where there had been specific problems brought to our attention usually by your Branch, these have been attended to as rapidly as we could arrange to do it.

Pett also noted that the decline of the regular inspection of residential schools was also due to the "curtailment of budget and by staff turn-over. It has been difficult to keep any one girl travelling the length and breadth of the country." He recommended that regional officers be hired with full authority to inspect both the residential schools and the hospitals operated by Indian Affairs.[294]

After the request from Jones, the Nutrition Division carried out an inspection of the newly constructed school in Sept-Îles, Québec, and identified the need for training for the cooks, additional kitchen equipment, improved menu planning, and nutritional improvement in the food that was being served.[295]

Pett also worked with P. E. Moore of Indian Health Services to develop a biscuit that would supply "all of a child's requirements for minerals and vitamins, as well as a basic minimum of protein and some calories."[296] The formula was based on a military ration and contained "calcium, iron, vitamin A, thiamine and riboflavin, as well as useful protein and calories."[297] These biscuits were distributed to schools and intended as a nutritional supplement.[298] Although Pett believed that such "'doctored' foods are in many ways only crutches to be used until better food habits are developed," the vitamin biscuits were still being provided in the 1960s.[299]

Into the mid-1950s, schools were still failing to feed students at a level consistent with Canada's Food Rules. A 1956 evaluation of the Norway House, Manitoba, school menu found that the amounts of citrus fruits, vegetables (other than potatoes), and eggs were "considerably lower" than the amounts recommended by Canada's Food Rules. The evaluation report stated that the older children were not receiving enough milk.[300]

According to a 1954 report on the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie:

> The serving of the meals is terrible, particularly as regards hot dishes. These are all put out on the tables starting about 15 minutes before the youngsters sit down with the result that the so-called hot dishes are cold or lukewarm with a scum over the soup, etc, etc, when the children get to them. I impressed on Phillips the importance of instituting the system of having a server at the end of each table whose duty it is to serve the children at his or her table AFTER THEY ARE SEATED.[301]

There were regular complaints about the quality and quantity of the food at the Brandon, Manitoba, school when Oliver Strapp was the principal in the early 1950s.[302] After a November 1956 visit to the Brandon school, Indian Affairs Superintendent of Education R. F. Davey was "convinced that the children were not properly fed, and that several members of the staff were incompetent." He noted that Strapp's successor as principal, G. R. Inglis, had not honoured commitments that he had made during Davey's previous visit, and observed that pupils were "not permitted to have second helpings."[303] When Indian agent Ralph Ragan conducted a follow-up visit, Inglis told him that he had not instituted second servings because "he felt he could not do so. He did state that extra meat and other foodstuffs were being provided but indications did not substantiate this."[304]

In 1956, Davey suggested to Strapp, who was by then the principal of the Edmonton school, that he not be "too reticent about spending money on food and clothing." Strapp requested he put the instruction in writing, since he did not wish to be held responsible for any shortfalls. Comments of this nature led Davey and Indian Affairs official R. F. Battle to conclude that while Strapp was "an able accountant and business manager," he was not "the ideal Principal for a school of this type."[305] When he was later criticized about the quality of the food at the school, Strapp pointed to the inadequate per capita grant. He admitted that the school was "feeding and clothing the children to a price and not to a reasonable standard according to the pamphlets sent out to us by Indian Health Services, Citrus fruits, Tomato Juice, Cheese, Honey, etc."[306] On another occasion, he reminded Indian Affairs that while the school taught Canada's Food Rules in its home economics class, it could not afford to feed the students a diet that was in accordance with the rules.[307] The federal audit of the school for 1959 showed that the school had overspent the food allowance by $874.84, an amount that would be deducted from the authorized allowance.[308] Strapp was incredulous: "I find it rather difficult to believe that you really intend that we should follow Canada Health Rules as laid down by the dietitian from Indian Health services who visited us last year, when you reduce so drastically the amount we may spend on food. In our markets it is not possible to buy without money."[309]

Students and their families also voiced their complaints. In 1957, Betty-Marie Barber, an employee of the Social Welfare branch, reported that a student at the Lytton, British Columbia, school (also known as St. George's) had told her she would like to return to the Kamloops school. There, she said, the students "got butter on their bread" and "stew with stew meat in it rather than macaroni and dry bread of which they seem to have an abundance at St. George's." According to Barber, the Indian Health nurse felt the children were "undernourished and do not get sufficient of the right type of food." There was, she said, a steady decline in the children's weight from Christmas on to June.[310]

The establishment of a food allowance

Until 1957, schools were expected to feed their students out of the per capita grant. In that year, the government adopted a new system; schools were to be reimbursed for their actual expenditures. However, to control costs, a food allowance was established that operated on a per capita basis.[311] Schools were given a food allowance that was not to exceed thirty-four cents a day per pupil in Grade Six and below, and thirty-eight cents per day per pupil in Grade Seven and above.[312]

In 1958, in response to a request from Indian Affairs, Pett proposed a food-cost figure of thirty-eight cents a day for younger students (twelve-year-olds) and fifty-three cents a day for older students (sixteen-year-olds). The costs were based on wholesale prices, and were judged to be sufficient to provide for meals that were "fully adequate nutritionally." They did not, as Pett made clear, incorporate the cost of transporting food to the schools, which would vary dramatically, depending on the location of the school. He proposed the rates be increased "by an arbitrary amount for the lack of trained help, and expert guidance in the school." Pett further qualified the proposed prices by noting "these prices depend on so many variables that it is difficult for us to see their application on a fair basis for all residential schools in Canada." Therefore, he stressed, they were "put forward in a tentative way."[313]

More than ten years earlier, in 1946, the Nutrition Division had estimated that with the inclusion of the value of the food raised on the farms, the schools were spending between twenty and thirty cents a day on each child, at a time when they should be spending at least thirty-six cents a day to provide a minimally adequate diet.[314] Pett's 1958 recommendation regarding older students was not far from the 1946 estimate of the amount needed to produce an adequate diet: in 1957, fifty-six cents was equivalent to thirty-six cents in 1946.[315]

Pett also recommended that the rate be adjusted annually in response to changes in costs, shipping, and the availability of wholesale food supplies.[316] A food allowance based on Pett's tentative proposal was adopted: it would be thirty-eight cents a day

for students aged twelve and under, and fifty-three cents a day for students aged thirteen and over.[317] Initially, the food allowance did not apply to the hostels in northern Canada. These were funded on a contract basis by Northern Affairs. In 1961, the department was still in the process of developing a funding rate for those institutions.[318]

Despite Pett's recommendation, the food allowance was not increased annually. The daily rate for pupils aged twelve and under was increased to forty-two cents a day in 1960.[319] The Nutrition Division recommended in 1962 that the residential school food allowance be forty-nine cents a day for pupils up to twelve years of age and sixty-six cents a day for students twelve and over. However, due to reductions in the appropriation for Indian education in that year, the rate was not increased.[320] In 1963, Indian Affairs received Treasury Board approval to provide funding of up to "49¢ per pupil per day for children of less than 13 years of age and 66¢ per pupil per day for children of more than 13 years of age" if the school or hostel had "serious difficulties in providing an adequate diet."[321] It was not until the 1964–65 fiscal year that the rates were increased to forty-nine cents a day for students up to twelve years of age, and sixty-six cents a day for those aged twelve and over.[322]

In 1966, the rate for students up to twelve years old was increased from forty-nine cents to sixty-six cents a day. But the rate for students thirteen years of age and over also remained at sixty-six cents.[323] A survey of Anglican principals and residence administrators said that between January 1, 1965, and September 1, 1966, there had been an average 44% increase in the cost of "nine items of meat, fish, and eggs." For five items, including bread, canned vegetables, canned fruit, and white beans, the increase had been 12%.[324]

The food allowance for students thirteen years of age and older was increased to seventy-two cents a day as of April 1, 1968.[325] By 1969, the food allowance was eighty cents per day per pupil and $50 a month for meals for each staff member living in the residence.[326]

Living with the food allowance in the 1960s

The new food allowance did provide for improvement in both the quantity and quality of food served at residential schools. From the Edmonton school, a dietician wrote in 1959, "The diet seemed to be adequate in protein and carbohydrates. The children do receive ample portions of protein foods and are allowed to drink as much fresh milk as they wish." There was not enough of citrus fruits, tomatoes, vegetables, or whole-grain cereals. But the dietician noted that when these foods were served, the children "do not like them."[327] A 1960 report on the food at the Hobbema, Alberta, school, which had been harshly criticized in 1947, was more positive. The kitchen and cafeteria, which had to serve lunch for 560 day and residential students, were described

as being well organized, and the diet was "fairly adequate."[107] In a 1961 report on the Roman Catholic school at Kenora, the dietitian commented on the "cleanliness, good food, and pleasant atmosphere of this school."[108] An inspection of the Crowfoot school in Cluny, Alberta, in 1963 reported a need for more milk for the older students, but concluded, "Generally speaking, the menus are quite good."[109]

Despite the increases, many problems remained. Although, in many cases, the new allowance represented an increase in funding, principals found it difficult to adhere to Canada's Food Rules and stay within budget. In 1958, Oblate Provincial L. R. Prospere admonished Williams Lake, British Columbia, principal Alex Morris for the amount he was spending on food. He pointed out that the principal of the Kootenay school spent below the budgeted amount on food, "and yet he says he fed the children well. I notice that he buys more hamburger, baloney, etc than you do. The Dept dietician will probably recommend you use cheaper cuts."[110]

A 1960 inspection of the Norway House, Manitoba, school noted that although "the pupils here are quite well fed," the servings of eggs and fruits should be increased. According to the dietician, the difference between the food allowance for students under twelve and those twelve and over was "unrealistic."[111] A 1960 report on the Anglican school at Fort George, Quebec, found that the diet was deficient in the supply of vitamin C and did not meet Canada's Food Rules recommendations for servings of eggs, cheese, liver, and fruit. Indian Affairs responded that the "fresh food supplies could only be obtained through the use of air freight, the cost of which would be prohibitive."[112] The director of Indian and Northern Health concluded that "although there is very little food wasted or extravagance in buying food, the present food allowance is not adequate to provide a diet which follows Canada's Food Rules in every respect."[113] A 1961 inspection of the Anglican school at Cardston, Alberta, reported, "Generally, the menus did not offer much variety and the servings of food seemed small—especially the protein food. However, seconds were available. Some requirements were met but some were not."[114] According to a 1961 inspection report of the Morley, Alberta, school, "On the whole the menus were quite well balanced except for the lack of eggs and cheese and some lack of milk in the high school students' diet."[115] At the Fort Chipewyan school in northern Alberta, a dietician reported in 1961, "Fresh fruit and vegetables are a big problem. Air service is very unreliable and expensive."[116] A 1961 survey of the food at the Cluny, Alberta, school noted that students were not drinking as much milk as they should, foods containing vitamin C were not served daily, there was only a single serving of vegetables daily, and the whole-grain cereals were served infrequently. So much bread was being consumed that the inspector worried that some children "must be eating nearly a loaf a day."[117] A 1962 report on the school recommended more milk, less bread, and more iron-rich food.[118] The call for increased milk consumption at this school was repeated in 1965, 1967, and 1968.[119]

In the early 1960s, some schools were still serving students unpasteurized milk. In 1962, Indian Affairs issued an instruction that unpasteurized milk was not acceptable. Instead, given the cost of pasteurized milk, it was recommended that schools serve powdered milk.[147] A 1966 inspection of the Hobbema, Alberta, school noted the milk was still not pasteurized.[148]

It does not appear that the food allowance took into account the regional differences that Pett had identified. Also, while it may have met the students' nutritional needs, it did not guarantee they left the table feeling full. In 1962, Kuper Island, British Columbia, principal H. Dunlop reported that he was feeding students servings that were "in excess of those recommended by the Nutritional Division. I hope, however, the shade of Oliver Twist will never fall upon us making it a crime to ask for seconds or even thirds, and I will not send growing children to bed hungry. It is very difficult to make 42 cents stretch over three meals and two lunches." He pointed out that his costs were much higher than those at another Oblate school in British Columbia, which never paid more than $40 a ton for potatoes; at Kuper Island, he never paid less than $60 a ton.[149]

The basic problem of quantity remained unresolved at many schools. At a meeting of United Church and Presbyterian Church school principals with Indian Affairs officials in Winnipeg in 1964, Nicle, Manitoba, school principal M. Hanare said that the "older children, especially boys who are really young men need so much more food than we can provide. They are constantly hungry."[150] Roland Chaput, the principal of the Assiniboia school in Winnipeg, complained in 1966 when there was no increase in the food allowance for students aged thirteen and over. Since all the students in his school were thirteen years or older, the food allowance for his school had remained static. "The auditor's report for the year 1965 shows clearly that the food allowance for that year was not high enough. Without any increase this year I do not see how it could be sufficient to keep us going and even absorb last year's deficit."[151]

At the Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, in 1959, breakfast and lunch were "planned immediately prior to preparation. The cook seems to think she does not have time to take an inventory of available food in order to plan her meals in advance."[152] In the fall of 1960, the cook at the Assumption school in Alberta was not using a written menu in preparing the school meals.[153] In 1966, M. Matas of Medical Service for the federal Department of Health in Alberta concluded, "Most of the cooks in Indian Residential Schools in Alberta have little or no training and it is thought a short course for these people would be of value."[154] As late as 1968, there were reports of schools operating with no written menus.[155]

By the 1960s, inspectors were also critical of the existence of separate meals and dining rooms for staff. In a 1961 report on the Cluny school, the inspector commented on the fact that the staff ate different meals from those eaten by the students. While he thought this might be necessary for morale, "great differences will be noticed by

[illegible] staff and by the children. This way some of the staff will never know what the children are eating."[illegible] A year later, the inspector observed, "Staff usually receive similar meals to the children with an added choice of items."[illegible] A 1961 report from the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school commented, "It is good to see staff meals very similar to those of the pupils."[illegible]

After initial delays, the general food allowance was also applied to the boards in northern Canada. Because the food allowance did not fully account for price differences, facilities found it difficult to feed students adequate meals and stay within budget. A 1966 dietitian's report on Yukon Hall in Whitehorse observed that although Canada's Food Guide [as Canada's Food Rules had come to be known by then][illegible] acquisitions were being met, because of "the appetite of this age group, the staff are finding that 69¢ per day per student is limiting."[illegible] In 1969, an official at Coudrier Hall in Whitehorse wrote,

> The 60.00 allowed [as] per student for food is not sufficient. In the words of food prices sky high. Every year the price of food goes up, especially meat. Also students are in their teens and need a large amount of food ... especially for a well balanced menu. We find that some growing boys will eat twice and three times as much as adults.

In keeping with the problem, the residence committee had to "cut down on amount of food given to the students ... leaving them on their appetite. We have had to cut back [illegible] menus. We've bought less meat and served more meat [as] products."[illegible]

The 1970s and beyond

Many of the problems that inspectors identified in the 1960s were still being reported in the 1970s. Many administrators found the food budget was simply too low. The food services manager of the Alert Bay, British Columbia, residence said in 1970 that the school "could manage adequately on the 60 cents a day food allowance were it not for the freight charges on the food."[illegible] The administrator of the Christie, British Columbia, school made the same point, referring to the "high cost of transporting food to the school due to its isolated location."[illegible] At the Alberni, British Columbia, school, it was estimated that the food allowance of eighty cents a day per student was ten cents too low."[illegible]

There were also reports of residences struggling to buy adequate supplies of food. A November 1970 inspection of the Dauphin, Manitoba, school noted that the "menus appears to be short of the recommended two servings of fruit per day."[illegible] Two years later, John Parker, the deputy commissioner of the Northwest Territories, wrote to the director of the Department of Education, saying he had received many accounts

[illegible] suggesting that the quality and quantity of the food[illegible]

A 1945 investigation into general complaints at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school reported that one dinner consisted of one slice of bologna, potatoes, bread, and milk. The bread was stale and served without butter, the milk was thin, and there was no dessert.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Missal 1-1/1/1

A 1945 inspection of the Gibbons, Manitoba, school concluded that 40% of the girls and 20% of the boys were underweight.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, File 81-001

Hobbema Hall, Edmonton, Alberta, school in 1945. For head of the federal government Nutrition Division concluded that of the established schools for staff had surveyed "no school was doing a good feeding job."

United Church of Canada Archives, 79-193P[?]-F6

Alberni, British Columbia, school student being examined as part of the nutrition study in 1948.

© Bryce, National Film Board of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, PA[illegible]

Sparks from a torch being used by maintenance staff during a repair job ignited a fire in the engine room of the Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, school in 1952. The fire quickly spread and burned the school to the ground.
St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Fonds, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Keewatin - Le Pas, N563.

The Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, school was one of the ten schools to burn down between 1940 and 1949.
R. D. Davidson, Canada, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Library and Archives Canada, PA-020025.

In 1946, Indian agent J. P. B. Ostrander wrote that if a fire broke out at the St. Alban's school in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, "there would be a great probability of considerable loss of life because of narrow corridors filled with dry inflammable material and not easy access to fire escapes or the stairway."

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-103-S7-2816.

A 1958 inspection of the North Vancouver, British Columbia, school concluded that the school was "over crowded" and a "Fire Hazard." North Vancouver Fire Warden A. H. Abbott estimated that if the school caught fire at night, at least half the students would be lost.

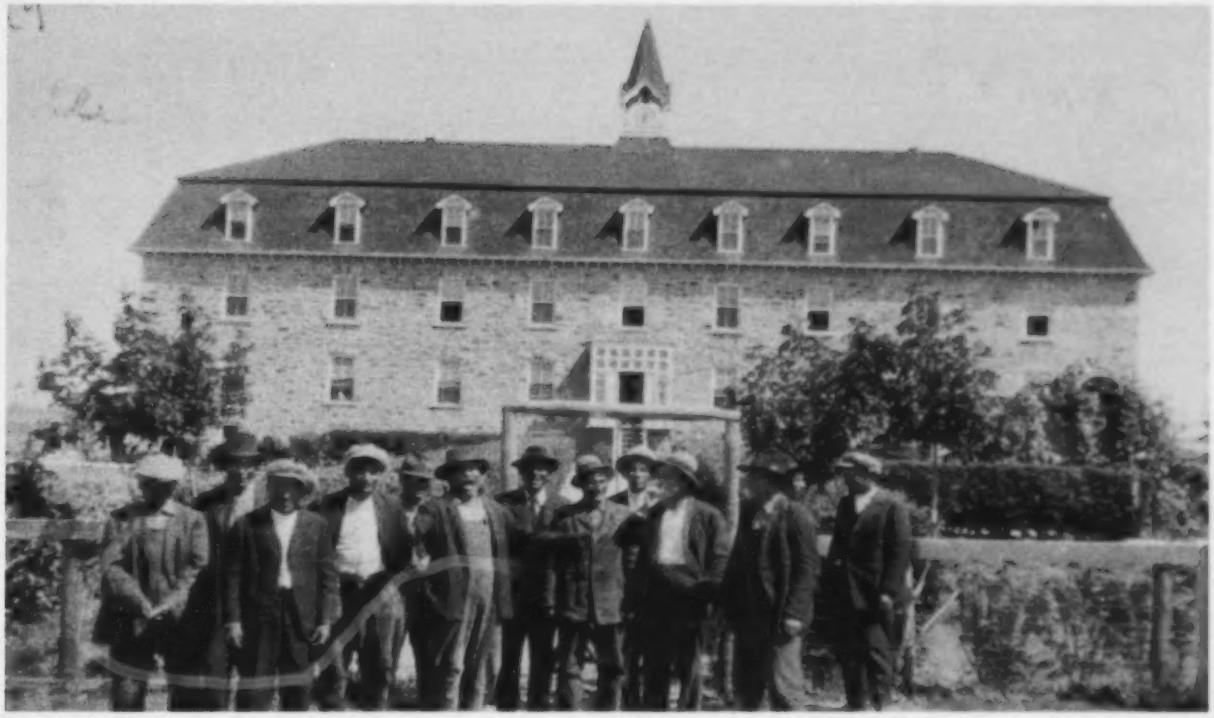
North Vancouver Archives, 4838.

Between 1941 and 1946, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police prepared at least sixteen separate reports on investigations into students who had run away from the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school.

Sisters of Charity, Halifax Archives, 1695A.

One of three boys who ran away from the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school in 1965 died when he attempted to cross the Assiniboine River.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A25317.



When three boys ran away from the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school in 1951, the principal did not notify the police or contact the boys' parents until the following day. Although two of the boys made it home safely, the third boy froze to death. His body was discovered by his father.

St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate of Manitoba fonds, delegation, SHSB 30035.

A 1949 investigation into discipline at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school concluded the institution more closely resembled a "detention home than a boarding school."

Canada, Department of Interior, Library and Archives Canada, PA-047850.

In 1948, C. H. Birdsall, the chair of the United Church committee responsible for the Edmonton, Alberta, school, complained, "It is impossible for the Residential School to offer salaries in competition with" Indian Affairs rates. Given the poor quality of accommodation, equipment, and staff at the school, he felt that it was "doubtful the present work with Indian Children could properly be called education."

United Church of Canada Archives, 93.049P873N.

Staff and students at the Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, school, 1946. Until the 1960s, members of religious orders made up a significant proportion of residential school staff membership.

St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate of Manitoba fonds, N4096.

A teacher and students at the Anglican school in Aklavik, Northwest Territories. Many residential school staff members were drawn to the work by a desire to teach and 'improve the world.'
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-1573-30.

James Driscoll, principal of the Cardston, Alberta, school in the 1930s. As an Anglican missionary in Nova Scotia, Driscoll had been very active in campaigns for social equality.
Glenbow Museum, NC-7-1951.

Totem poles, cemetery vault and church ruins, fifty-eight staff members left the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school. Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Library and Archives Canada, PA-173139.

In the 1960-61 school year, the Kamloops, British Columbia, school employed at least sixty full- and part-time workers. Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Library and Archives Canada, PA-173135.

The staff of the Dewdney, Alberta, school in 1915. Principal R. J. Crocker on the far right. Prior to his appointment that year, Crocker had since worked in a residential school. He held the job for a year and a half.
[redacted]

In 1969, one year after he was appointed principal of the Dene northern Indian, Saskatchewan, Chief Ignace was granted an honorary doctorate of laws by the University of Saskatchewan.
[redacted]

CHAPTER 20

Five Issues: 1960–2000

In 1966, R. A. Avery, the superintendent of Medical and Training for Indian Affairs, wrote a lifelong critique of the condition of Canadian residential schools. He said the schools had three grossly basic, value-killing problems: "the continuous expenditure on the construction of public buildings, poorly staffed institutions for the education of children." And unsurprisingly, money went "to get the buildings." He wanted to see many of these replaced, preferably with day schools. He recommended that any new residential schools should be "of the general community type throughout."[1]

Avery's two goals—a switch from residential schooling to day schooling, and the improvement of the safety in residential schools—came into conflict with one another. In the years to follow, school fires would be an important factor in the closure of many existing residential schools. Although most of these schools were replaced, the replacements were not always of the general community type. For example, the Pelican Indian Residential School, which replaced the school destroyed by fire in Pelican Lake and Cat Lake Bridge, was "temporarily" located in the cabins in an abandoned army camp. This school had one of the highest concentrations of any residential school child murderers (in 1973, five examples), yet was considered a safer alternative than the old building.[2]

Many Indian Affairs saw the future as consolidating students in day schools. It was attractive to bring existing residential school life in line with provincial standards. Convinced that the buildings would be closed in a matter of years, it regularly sought and received exemptions from fire-prevention orders. The lack of maintenance is underscored by a 1969 report from the British Columbia Fire Marshall's office. It concluded that the Mission school was overcrowded, had inadequate fire escapes, and little fire-fighting equipment. In fact the buildings, some of which had been built in 1861, were judged to be fire hazards.[3]

The Fourth and Seventh Statistical Commissions of Canada have documented that a high proportion of residential school deaths were accidental. For the Northwest, 1946 and 1947 (see Table 20.1). In addition, a high proportion of deaths were due to tuberculosis. Many died during their period (see Table 20.2). Never were so many lives sacrificed to so few (see Table 20.3). It was dangerous to go to school. And it took a long time for many children to be allowed to go home (see Table 20.4).

Table 4.1: [illegible] in residence buildings destroyed by fire

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 4.2: [illegible] destroyed by fire, [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

1962: Elkhorn, Saskatchewan[14]
1963: Fort George, Quebec (the Anglican school)[15]
1963: Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (the Anglican school)[16]
1965: Wabasca, Alberta[17]
1966: Norway House, Manitoba[18]
1967: Lac la Ronge, Saskatchewan[19]
1968: Delmas, Saskatchewan (Thunderchild)[20]

It is no large measure a testament to the work of the staff and the discipline of the students that none of these fires resulted in any loss of life. The actions of two boys, Donald Bromly and Oliver Sinclair, were credited with saving the lives of fellow students when fire destroyed the Norway House, Manitoba, school in 1986. According to a community history:

> All the boys were fast asleep. Donald knew the doors were always locked, but that was not why he found it hard to relax. Lying under the warmth of the blankets, the air in the dormitory was making Donald feel like sneezing. Something was making his nostrils quite itchy. Finally, Donald sat up to clear his nasal and throat passages; it was then he noticed the room was full of greyish black smoke. Clearing his eyes, he knew instinctively everyone was in great danger. He shook his friend Oliver, who was sleeping in the next bed. He did not need to show him the smoke, as Oliver had woken up and could see it for himself. Donald ordered Oliver to wake up the rest of the boys while he woke up the girls in the next dormitory.
>
> Donald tried to open the door which the supervisors always locked. He kept banging and pushing until it finally gave away. He ran to the girls' dormitory and told everyone to get out quickly. By this time the boys were already getting away through the fire escapes. Soon, one by one the girls came flying down the fire escapes, too.
>
> Down on the ground below Donald and Oliver hurried, so that they could catch each one as they came sliding down.[21]

Many of the buildings that burned were acknowledged fire traps. After inspecting the ruins of the Alexander, British Columbia, school, Indian Affairs official P. H. Ashbridge wrote, "The destroyed building was of wood frame construction with shingle roof. Building was very old and dry, being partially built of cedar, and was considered to be a fire hazard." He attributed the cause of the fire to a failure in the wiring.[22] In his report on the Wabasca, Alberta, fire to Indian Affairs, Anglican Church official H. A. Allsebrook noted that when he had inspected the school the year before, he had thought it was "easily the poorest thing of its kind I had seen, and I felt that the fire hazard was considerable, and that it must have been because of the great care on the part of the staff that it had escaped loss in the past."[23]

A 1941 inspection of the Lac la Ronge, Saskatchewan, school described it as "nothing more or less than a fire trap."[31] When it was destroyed by fire in 1947, Principal Douglas Wickenden wrote, "The 'fire-trap' has ceased to exist and mercifully without loss of life."[32]

The fires played a role in the eventual dismantling of the residential school system. Government officials recognized that the fires created an opportunity to expand day schools. Four of the schools (Ahousaht, Onion Lake, Lac la Ronge, and Delmas) were never rebuilt. When the Thunderchild school at Delmas, Saskatchewan, burned down, Indian Affairs official J. P. B. Ostrander noted, "The Indians of the Poundmaker, Meadow Lake, and Sweetgrass Reserves have all been asking for day schools," and he could see no reason why they should continue to be denied such schools.[33] Despite Oblate requests for a new school, by the spring of 1949, the government decided not to rebuild at Delmas.[34]

Temporary accommodation for the pupils from the Onion Lake school was provided at St. Alban's College, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1944.[35] After the Lac la Ronge school was destroyed by fire in 1947, the students were transferred to Prince Albert.[36] The Anglicans sought unsuccessfully to have the Onion Lake and Lac la Ronge schools rebuilt.[37] Instead, arrangements were made to house the students in a former Canadian military basic-training complex on the edge of Prince Albert.[38] By spring of 1948, the boys from St. Alban's College were quartered at the military camp and trucked to classes.[39] In 1951, it was decided to move all the students living at the St. Alban's school into the military camp.[40]

The File Hills, Saskatchewan, school never recovered from the loss of the classrooms destroyed in the 1942 fire. Two years later, classes were still being conducted in playrooms. According to the superintendent for Indian agencies, "Under one of the playrooms an engine is continually running and you can understand that this is distracting to whatever teacher they might have." With the conditions at the school, "children cannot possibly get the education they should receive."[41] In 1948, in response to requests from the principal to make improvements to the school, Indian Affairs official J. P. B. Ostrander wrote that he hesitated "to recommend spending any further money on it."[42] The school was closed at the end of the 1948–49 school year.[43] Most of the students were to attend day schools. Between six and eight students were to be sent to either the Brandon or Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, schools. Both were operated by the United Church.[44]

Other schools were closed before they could burn down. In 1944, Hoey referred to the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, as "one of our worst fire hazards."[45] He did not believe it could be "repaired and made reasonably satisfactory from the standpoint of sanitation."[46] Mount Elgin was closed in 1946.[47] In May 1950, the Saskatchewan Fire Commissioner's office condemned the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school. Fire Commissioner R. E. Tiffin concluded that no changes could be made that would "make

the building a reasonably safe place to house these children."[38] The poor condition of the school led the government to close the school at the end of the school year. The decision sparked a protest from the Toronto-based Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada. The society had been requesting the construction of a new school for fifteen years. It also complained to Indian Affairs that "If the school buildings are in such poor condition, we should have been made aware of this by those who have been supervising."[39] The complaint suggests the society had limited knowledge of conditions in a school for which it was partially responsible.

A series of fires contributed to the closing of the Chapleau, Ontario, school during this period. A chimney fire did considerable damage to the building in February 1944.[40] There was a small electrical fire at the school in the spring of 1947.[41] The school caught fire once more in March 1948.[42] After the fire, the principal warned that "in case of a fire getting a head start during the night, half of the occupants of the building, both staff and children, would be trapped some 30 feet from the ground without any means of escape."[43] Indian Affairs declined to pay for a new fire escape. Instead, it authorized the Indian agent to install additional interior doors that would allow students in senior dormitories to have access to the junior dormitory fire escapes.[44] The school was closed at the end of the 1947–48 school year.[45]

The 1940s were the most dangerous decade in terms of residential school fires. But, through the following half-century, Canada continued to underinvest in safety, knowingly placing the lives of students and staff at risk.

Inadequate fire protection: 1940–1960

It is clear from the evidence that throughout this period, many, if not most, of Canada's residential schools were fire hazards. In 1941, R. A. Hoey had informed the director of Indian Affairs that the Anglican schools at Whitefish Lake and Wabasca "have been for years in a dilapidated and insanitary condition." They needed to be replaced by either new schools or day schools.[46] The safest solution, as Hoey had observed, would have been to build more day schools, allowing children to return to their parents' homes, or to replace burned schools with new, fireproof buildings. Instead, during the 1940s, the government made few new investments in First Nations schools. In the absence of new schools, the government should have ensured that the existing schools had adequate levels of fire protection. This would have included alarms for speedy notification and evacuation of the schools, effective firefighting equipment, and safe, functioning fire escapes. But, inspections from the 1940s regularly identified schools that failed to provide such elementary fire protection.

A 1940 inspection of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, reported that the hose reels on the top floor did not contain hoses. The Kenora fire chief recommended

the installation of fire doors on the furnace room.[47] Indian Affairs was prepared to provide $30 to purchase the fire doors, but there were no funds for improvements to the fire escapes and fire-alarm system. The Indian agent was advised to bring the matter to the Indian Affairs branch's attention at the start of the new fiscal year. In the meantime, the principal was to "make every possible effort to keep the present fire escapes as free from snow and ice as is possible."[48] Even when the money to purchase fire doors could be found, the doors were difficult to obtain. Efforts by the Oblates to improve the fireproofing of the Catholic school in Kenora in 1942 were frustrated by wartime rationing of steel.[49]

In 1940, it was noted that there were no fire bells in the dormitories at the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school. Neither were there any in the laundry, boiler room, engine room, dining room, or a number of basement hallways. There was also a need for additional fire hoses. On a more positive note, the inspector felt that the surprise fire drill went smoothly, with the school being emptied in two minutes.[50] In reporting on a fire that destroyed a classroom block at the Alberni, British Columbia, school, Indian Affairs inspector G. H. Barry wrote that it would have been possible to save the building if his previous recommendations for improvements to equipment at the school had been implemented.[51] A fire at the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school in April 1941 revealed that the school had an insufficient supply of firefighting equipment and an insufficient supply of water.[52]

Water supply was a constant problem. When a fire broke out in the laundry room of the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school in the fall of 1941, the school was saved because the principal "had the children, the Sisters and all the staff carrying water and assisting in putting out the fire."[53] Even when there was water, the hoses might fail. A 1946 inspection of the Edmonton, Alberta, school concluded that the fire hose in the building was twenty-two years old and should be condemned.[54]

The principal of the Birtle, Manitoba, school reported in March 1943 that the fire alarm could not be heard in the junior boys' room. A lack of interior lighting made nighttime fire drills dangerous. "Often a little girl or a little boy gets so frightened that he or she is afraid to take a step and there is a danger that those behind may pile up and a dangerous situation result."[55] An inspection of the Hobbema, Alberta, school in 1944 concluded that the state of fire protection at the school was "very poor." Alarms could not be heard throughout the school and there were insufficient and ineffective means of escape.[56]

Poor maintenance and overcrowding also increased the fire risk. A 1945 inspection of the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school recommended that Indian Affairs "lose no time in installing added protection if it wishes to prevent a serious conflagration." The engine room was described as being in "filthy condition, the floor saturated with oil." The supply of both power and water was deemed to be unsatisfactory for fire safety.[57] A 1945 fire-safety inspection of the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school noted that

the dormitories were so crowded that there were only inches between the beds and there was even "one bed blocking the exit door."[58] Into the 1940s, some schools had no electrical service. In 1946, E. L. Stone, the Indian Health Services medical superintendent for Alberta, wrote that the Anglican school at Whitefish Lake, Alberta, had "no water system and was lighted by coal-oil lamps. The fire menace is extreme."[59] A 1948 Indian Affairs inspection described the school as being "very inadequate from the stand-point of sanitation and fire prevention."[60]

The end of the war did not bring about a dramatic improvement in fire-safety measures. In a 1949 response to a request for funding to make improvements to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school, as had been recommended by a fire marshal, Bernard Neary, the Indian Affairs superintendent of Indian Education, noted that "funds are limited at the present time, and it will be difficult if not impossible to provide any large amount of money for improvements."[61] The principal of the Roman Catholic school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, R. Beauregard, sent an urgent telegraph message to Ottawa in July 1955, warning that, because of a "critical" problem with the school's water pipes, there was a "danger of fire."[62] A Saskatchewan government inspector reported in November 1955 that the Kamsack school's "alarm system is completely out of order, and fire escapes are not marked at all. The existing hoses are leaking badly and the valve if opened will not close off again."[63] In April 1957, Indian Affairs official W. J. Harvey described the only fire protection at the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec, as "a few fire extinguishers filled with water." He said that if the frame building were to catch fire, it would be "enveloped in flames in a few minutes."[64]

In a 1956 report on the need to improve the water supply for firefighting purposes at the Lower Post, British Columbia, school, a federal official noted that "there is a serious lack of fire protection at this school." He went on to acknowledge that "this situation exists to a more or lesser degree at all our residential schools."[65] The Lower Post school was not an aging institution: it had opened in 1951.[66]

Lytton, British Columbia, principal C. E. Hives had for many years been trying to draw Indian Affairs' attention to what he called the "unsatisfactory, inefficient, and unsafe condition of the heating system" in two classrooms. Indian Affairs had not addressed the issue, since it planned to replace the building with a new set of classrooms. In 1957, one of the classrooms caught fire. Although staff members were able to bring the fire under control with no loss of life, the fire underscored the ongoing neglect of the existing buildings.[67] In that same year, an inspection of the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, called for improvements to the fire escape, water pressure, wiring, and firefighting equipment.[68] The nearby Catholic school was ordered to make improvements to the fire escapes, replace rotten standpipes, and alter exit doors so that they opened outwards.[69]

Inspection reports from 1958 found fire safety to be inadequate at schools in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario. Indian Affairs official J. V. Boys judged

the firefighting equipment at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school to be "quite inadequate." He wrote that "with the existing water supply, it is impossible to throw a stream of water on the roof of the main building."[70] An inspector called for the replacement of the fire escapes at the Joussard, Alberta, school, along with the installation of a fire-detection system and fire doors.[71] Extensive renovations were called for to the main building at the school at Fort Alexander, Manitoba. Indian Affairs recognized that the building was "in bad shape and it would not be possible to bring it up to acceptable standards without the expenditure of a large sum of money." At the time, the government intended to build a new classroom block and transfer a Veterans Affairs building to the school. Therefore, the government was determined "not to spend any more money than is absolutely necessary to reduce the hazards in event of fire."[72] Fire protection at the McIntosh, Ontario, school was judged to be "totally inadequate and the existing escapes are unsuitable and dangerous."[73]

A 1959 inspection of the Sturgeon Lake school at Calais, Alberta, concluded that the main building "was not suitable in the writer's opinion for a school and dormitory." He recommended replacing the fire escapes, adding additional escapes, installing a new fire-alarm system, reducing enrolment, relining all the hallways with non-combustible material, and replacing the roof.[74]

A negative inspection did not always lead to safety improvements. The examples of both Canada's oldest residential school—the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario—and one of its newest—in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan—demonstrate how slow Canada was to respond to recommendations for improvement to fire safety in the 1940s and 1950s.

The Mohawk Institute

In 1946, the Mohawk Institute was the subject of a thorough and highly critical examination by fire inspector N. C. Rathburn. He pointed out that while it was generally accepted that all exit doors in public buildings should open outwards, at the Mohawk Institute, "the main entrance door, classroom doors, dining room doors, exit doors from the sewing room, in fact practically all the doors except those on the fire escape, [are] opening inwardly."

He also said that previous recommendations to have "a proper fire drill organized in this school" had been neglected. Fire hoses were full of holes, fire extinguishers had not been recharged, heating pipes were wrapped in paper, the fire bell could not be heard in the dormitories, and the gas valve on the kitchen stove "was leaking very badly."[75] Twelve years later, in 1958, after another inspection, Rathburn wrote that although some improvements had been made at the school, "we cannot get away from the fact that this building, of wooden structure inside, would allow a fire to spread very

rapidly and with the number of children and supervisors, particularly on the second and third floors, there is every possibility that if fire did take place unnoticed, loss of life could very likely happen."

He stated that the existing building could be made safe only through the installation of a sprinkler system.[76] By the spring of the following year, Indian Affairs awarded a contract for the installation of such a system.[77] In the fall of 1959, a fire inspector informed the school that a recent fire drill at the school was "not efficient." The inspector had doubts as to whether "a safe evacuation could be made" without the addition of an enclosed stairway that would allow the second and third floors of the school to be evacuated at the same time.[78] In spite of the building's ongoing deterioration, the Mohawk Institute remained in operation until June 1970.[79]

Prince Albert

After the destruction by fire of the Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, the students were transferred to a former private boys' school in Prince Albert called St. Alban's.[80] As noted above, in 1950, many of the students were transferred to an abandoned military camp on the edge of town. When it was operated by the military, the camp had received fire protection from its own, fully equipped, fire hall, which had a full-time crew of firefighters.[81] But, once it became a school, it no longer had that level of fire protection.

Indian agent J. P. B. Ostrander wrote of St. Alban's in 1946 that "if a fire started in the building there would be a great probability of considerable loss of life because of narrow corridors filled with dry inflammable material and not easy access to fire escapes or the stairway."[82] In 1949, the director of Indian Affairs, D. M. MacKay, recommended that the government, in partnership with the Anglican Church, fund extensive repairs to the school, which had been the subject of a detailed and highly negative fire inspection.[83]

In 1950, the Prince Albert fire chief condemned the heating system at the school facilities located in the former military training camp.[84] In the summer of 1951, the fire chief was still expressing "dissatisfaction with the fire-fighting and fire-escape facilities at the school."[85] The Saskatchewan fire commissioner raised concerns about the complex in 1953, when it was housing 550 children. He wrote that the wood-frame buildings were highly susceptible to fire, estimating that each of them would be totally consumed by fire within five minutes. He recommended an improved fire-alarm system in the school as soon as possible.[86] A 1954 fire inspection of the school reached the following conclusion:

> It cannot be stressed too strongly that occupancy of these buildings as a residential school is contrary to all accepted standards for safety of life and

> property, against fire. This condition is further aggravated by the lack of sufficient water supplies to prevent the possibility of a major fire gaining headway in any of the buildings. The distances between the buildings is such that the probability of fire spreading, under favourable wind conditions, from the source of origin to adjacent buildings and developing into a conflagration of serious proportions cannot be overlooked.[87]

Renovations were undertaken later in that year, but by 1960, Henry Cook, the head of the Anglican Indian School Administration, was complaining to Ottawa that "the building interiors are becoming progressively shoddy." He said, "One wonders just how much longer the so-called 'temporary buildings' are going to be considered 'permanent.'" He recommended that Indian Affairs construct a new building in Prince Albert.[88]

Fire escapes

The inadequacy of the fire escapes at the schools during the 1940s and 1950s merits special mention because it demonstrates how issues that had been clearly identified in previous decades remained unresolved. Ongoing budgetary restrictions meant that schools continued to be equipped with inadequate and dangerous fire escapes. This was not just a matter of wartime economy: in 1954, Indian Affairs admitted, "A shortage of funds and technical staff to initiate the work has delayed putting into effect many fire prevention and protective measures in our residential schools."[89] This problem was compounded by school administrators' continuing practice of locking students into their dormitories at night. As in the past, this measure was taken to prevent students from running away and to keep male and female students from slipping into one another's dormitories at night.

The major problems with many school fire escapes were identified in a 1949 memorandum by the chief of the Engineering and Construction Division, Department of Mines and Resources. The memorandum noted that in many residential schools, the fire exits could be reached only through the windows, with sills often four feet (1.21 metres) off the ground. For small children, simply getting over the windowsill could present a problem. Once they were out the window, the children usually would have to go down an iron pole. This was "impracticable for small children." The memorandum said that steel stairs did not offer a solution for situations where "small children must descend several stories under winter conditions."[90] These uncovered escapes could become blocked with snow or covered with ice.[91] It was recommended that schools install either fully enclosed and accessible fire-escape towers that would contain stairways, or enclosed steel chutes.[92]

Leona Agawa never forgot her first fire drill at the Spanish, Ontario, girls' school. She said a staff member had to force her to use the pole:

> "Hurry up there, get down there," she said. And I was scared. I'm looking down there. There's, there's three flights of stairs. I'm looking down there, how am I gonna get down there with hanging on that pole? "Well, hurry up," she said. She's, she's slapping me again. How I got on there, oh, I just hung on like this, in here I was hurting, and hanging on, and I just let go, and I left hand on, on my behind, and I was crying, and she said, "Don't you cry."[104]

There was nothing particularly new about the problems with fire escapes. Indian Affairs inspectors had been identifying these issues since at least the 1930s. They continued to do so throughout the 1940s. A 1941 inspection report called for improvements to the fire escapes at the Lac la Ronge, Saskatchewan, school.[105] Inspector A. G. Hamilton was concerned in 1941 that the smaller children at the Mohawk, Ontario, school were not used to the pole-type fire escape. He thought there should be more frequent drills to ensure that the children were not afraid of using the pole.[106] For his part, Indian agent G. Swartman expressed concern over the use of the pole-type escape at all, which, he thought, in certain weather conditions, could become too slippery and dangerous to use.[107]

A fire inspector in 1941 strongly recommended that six measures be taken to improve safety at the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school, including the provision of outside fire escapes on the school and the dormitories.[108] A decision was made to defer the installation of the fire escapes, which would cost $4,000, until the following fiscal year.[109]

Year after year inspectors made similar reports. The 1946 report of the Commission on Indian Affairs observed that the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school was not fire-proof or "sufficiently equipped with fire-escapes."[110] An inspection of the Christie Island, British Columbia, school in 1946 identified the need for additional methods of escape from each classroom and the installation of outward-opening exit doors.[111] A 1947 inspection of the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, recommended that all the exits to the fire escapes be altered to allow for quicker and safer exit from the school.[112] A provincial inspector concluded that the Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, school lacked sufficient fire escapes in April 1948.[113] Funds were not made available to install new escapes until June 1949.[114] Another inspection identified an urgent need for a fire escape for the girls' dormitory at the Whitefish Lake, Alberta, school in 1948.[115] The partial destruction by fire of the Fort Frances, Ontario, public high school prompted the local Indian agent to inspect the fire exits at the Fort Frances residential school in 1950. He discovered that many of the wooden steps on the girls' fire escape were rotten, and the wooden railing was "not safe." He chose to have the boys' and girls' fire escapes also opened inwards.[116]

In 1958, a provincial inspection of the Presbyterian school in Aroostook called for the replacement of the existing fire escapes with a "spiral fire escape" at each end of the building.[116] As of June 1959, nothing had been done. Principal T. C. Ross wrote to Indian Affairs, asking for direction on the type of escapes that should be installed. He added that he did not "feel able to continue to accept responsibility for the safety of children housed under present conditions."[117] In March 1952, Indian agent Norman Paterson reminded Ottawa that the need to replace the fire escapes at the school had been drawn to Ottawa's attention four years earlier. He thought that Indian Affairs should scrap the "antiquated fire escapes" and proceed with the "installation of a modern and safe method of evacuation."[118]

After a visit to Fort Providence, Northwest Territories, John Parker, a Yellowknife barrister, reported in 1957 that there were no fire escapes at the Fort Providence school. He wrote, "There are two stairways in the building but if a fire were to develop on the lower floors, these would act more like chimneys than as passages for escape." In his opinion, the only two alternatives were putting in proper fire escapes or demolishing the building.[119] In response to Parker, Northern Affairs official Jean Lafrete reported, "It has been known for a number of years that the Fort Providence [illegible] school is in very bad condition and is a fire trap." Lafrete pointed out that the government was replacing the school with the system of hostels and day schools, and that responsibility for the fire escapes lay with the school's owners: the Roman Catholic Church.[120] Parker's complaint led to an inspection that concluded that crowding at the school constituted a fire hazard. Bishop J. Trocellier was instructed not to take any more students into the school.[121]

It was not unusual for years to pass before improvements to fire escapes were made. The following examples from Moose Factory and Sioux Lookout (Ontario), Fort Simpson and Coppermine (Northwest Territories), and Edmonton (Alberta) all demonstrate how serious safety problems were left unaddressed for years.

Moose Factory

Henry Cook, the superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, called on Indian Affairs to install a metal fire escape at the Moose Factory school in January 1958.[122] His request was bolstered by a report from the Ontario Fire Marshal's office that the exits at the school were "extraordinarily unsatisfactory ... if a fire started in the eight to the building I could foresee only a shocking sacrifice of life."[123] In mid-August 1958, D. Howey, the principal of the Moose Factory school, proposed that the school not reopen for the coming year because nothing had been done to eliminate the fire and health hazards at the school.[124] After Indian Affairs made a commitment to make needed repairs, the school reopened in the fall of 1958. However, the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

of Indian Affairs policy, he was continuing to lock fire-escape doors to "safeguard the morals of the children." He said that if he were compelled to keep the doors unlocked, he would have to install an alarm that would sound when the doors were opened. Ireland instructed him to get the details on the type of alarm he needed.[155] A 1947 inspection found the fire-escape doors at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school locked (although the key was left hanging beside the doors). An Indian Affairs official recommended that the school install a buzzer that would alert staff if anyone was opening the fire escape and leaving the doors unlocked.[156] A March 1948 inspection of the Chapleau, Ontario, school revealed that

> on the boys side the door to the fire escape was locked, this escape leads from the junior boys dormitory, the senior boys are on the front of the building and have to pass the top of the stairway which would be the danger point in case of fire, but their room door is locked, also at night which means they would have to get both doors opened before even reaching the fire escape.

The inspector noted that while extra fire escapes would improve safety, "they would be useless unless this idea of locking doors at night is discarded, but the staff appear to be reluctant to do this."[157]

Compliance issues continued throughout the 1950s. In 1953, for example, problems were identified at three schools. At the Fort Frances, Ontario, school, an inspector noted that a fire-escape door was locked and lacked what was termed "panic hardware" that would allow the door to open in an emergency. Although the principal assured the inspector that the door was left unlocked at night, Indian Affairs official Phillip Phelan instructed that the principal be informed that "the Department does not wish the fire escape door to be locked."[158] A fire inspection of the Cowessess, Saskatchewan, school found that the fire-escape door to the girls' dormitory was locked. The report continued: "A similar situation existed in the boys' dormitory, except that it was impossible to open the fire escape door—a portion of the latch being missing."[159] The principal, J. Lemire, promised to keep the doors unlocked. But, he added, "for the safety of the children, I do not believe very much in those fire escapes, especially [sic] during the winter, as you know they are condemned and were supposed to be replaced long ago."[160] An inspection in 1952 of the Brocnoal, Saskatchewan, school concluded that "the fire alarm system and facilities for evacuating children in case of fire, had been sadly neglected. There are far too few fire extinguishers, and no one at the school knows when they were last checked." When the inspector asked that a fire drill be held, the staff discovered, for the first time, that there was no central switch for the alarm. The fire-escape doors opened inwards and were locked shut.[161] The practice of locking the fire-escape doors at Brocnoal apparently continued. In January 1956, Indian Affairs official J. R. Bell reported he had been "unaware that the fire door had been nailed shut." He said the problem had been corrected.[162]

Students at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school complained in 1949 that the dormitory doors were kept locked.[162] Six years later, an inspection report on the school stated, "Exit doors from balconies must not be locked," indicating that safety had not improved, despite the students' concerns.[163] An inspection of the Alberni, British Columbia, school in 1960 revealed that the "lack of fire escapes and the division of the building by locked doors separating the boys' and girls' sections leave only one means of egress from each end of the building."[164]

From the 1960s onwards, reports of the locking of fire-escape doors are less frequent, but the practice still continued. A 1961 inspection discovered that one of the exit doors at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school was padlocked.[165] In October 1962, the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office carried out an inspection of the Assiniboia school in Winnipeg. The inspection was made at the request of the Winnipeg Fire Department, which felt that its negative reports on the school were not receiving proper attention.[166] The federal inspection concluded that the enclosure of a stairwell had not been carried out in a satisfactory manner, that the type of fire escape recommended for the second-storey dormitory and the first-floor chapel had not been installed, and that the dormitories were overcrowded. Although padlocks had been removed from the exit doors, the latches used to lock the dormitories at night had not been removed. In fact, latches had been installed on additional exit doors.[167]

A 1964 inspection of the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school concluded that fire protection was "poor on the whole, owing to lack of municipal or private fire brigade within reasonable distance." The overcrowded dormitories were "dangerous in event of fire." It was also recommended that the practice of locking doors between dormitories be abandoned, since "they constitute a means of egress."[168] The following year, it was discovered that the exit doors at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school were "obstructed or padlocked in some cases."[169] In 1966, the exit at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora was equipped with a complex alarm lock that could be opened only after specific instructions attached to the lock were read.[170]

A 1968 inspection of the Birtle school included the reminder: "Fire escape doors are never to be locked."[171] That same year, E. R. Daniels of Indian Affairs reported that he was "astounded and appalled" at what he saw on inspection tours. He reported finding:

1) Fire-fighting equipment inoperative.
2) Exits from dorms locked.
3) Smoke barrier doors with hooks and eyes on.
4) No plans for fire drills.[172]

In 1970, the chief of the Indian Affairs engineering division on the Prairies sent the following telex to headquarters.

> GRADE LEVEL FIRE EXITS FROM EACH END STAIRWELLS AT BRANDON STUDENTS RESIDENCE FOUND LOCKED IN CLOSED POSITION BY USE OF HEAVY CHAINS AND

> PADLOCKS DURING INSPECTION BY MEMBER OF THIS OFFICE NOV 25 STATIONARY ENG ADVISED BUT NOTHING DONE SUGGEST IMMEDIATE ACTION BE TAKEN TO ENSURE THESE FIRE EXITS WHICH HAVE PANIC HARDWARE INSTALLED BE UNLOCKED SAFETY OF CHILDREN CERTAINLY ENDANGERED UNDER PRESENT LOCKED CIRCUMSTANCES.[174]

A 1973 inspection of the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, residence noted that, as in previous years, problems had been identified concerning "exits, door stops, locks, etc." The inspector wrote:

> It appears that to achieve the student control that is considered necessary D.F.C. [Dominion Fire Commissioner] fire requirements are bypassed or circumvented in some manner or other. To further this control concept this building is equipped with a large master key control panel and several sub-panels which themselves are all under lock and key. In order to navigate this building an inordinate number of keys must be used.[175]

The following recommendations were made after an inspection of the Hobbema, Alberta, school in December 1975:

1) Remove flush mounted locks from all stairwell doors and smoke barrier doors.
2) Remove lock from exit door, northeast end to exterior.
3) Remove all mounted door stops on smoke barrier doors.
4) Repair burned out exit lights where required.[176]

Any improvements that might have been made didn't last long. Six years later, in March 1981, Indian Affairs informed the principal of the Hobbema school that the school's practice of locking exit doors with "chains, padlocks, ropes, etc." was "totally against fire regulations" and should "stop immediately."[177] Principal L. Johnson assured Indian Affairs that he would not "condone any practices which contravene accepted fire safety practices."[178]

The problem also occurred in the school residences in northern Canada. In 1976, Harry Mayne, the supervisor of student services of the Northwest Territories department of education, issued a telex stressing that the practice of locking and chaining fire doors at Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson was to cease immediately.[179]

The continual violation of a clear and often-stated government policy reflects the unwillingness of the federal government to enforce its own regulations. The fact that the churches felt obliged to lock students into the dormitories reflects the degree to which the system depended on compulsion in order to operate. Runaways, as noted elsewhere in this report, remained an ongoing problem. Indian Affairs was just as likely to criticize a principal who had too many truants as it was to criticize a principal who kept his students locked up.

Principals were also open to criticism if a female student became pregnant. As a result, principals put students' lives at risk in an effort to control unwanted social interactions. In her memoir of her time as the school nurse at the Presbyterian school in Kenora in the 1950s, Kay Blake (formerly Kathleen Stewart) wrote of how boys from another school used a newly installed chute-type fire escape to gain access to the girls' dormitory. The principal—whom she did not name—took a highly irregular and dangerous approach to the issue. "Our principal brought out his '303' and waited. There was a triangle of cedar shrubbery near the fire escape where the boys hid. A few shots whistling over their heads caused them to leave promptly. The principal was not allowed to do this again but we had no more similar visitations."[180]

Fires set by students: 1940–1997

The system's punitive nature contributed to one of the most dangerous student reactions to residential school: deliberate attempts to burn schools down. In commenting on the risk of fire at the aging and dilapidated St. Alban's school at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1946, Indian agent J. P. B. Ostrander wrote: "More than one disastrous Indian school fire has been started by the pupils themselves in an effort to obtain their freedom from a school which they did not like. The number of truants in this school would certainly indicate much dissatisfaction."[181]

There was a great deal of student dissatisfaction. And there were, particularly in the 1940s, several cases of suspected and proven instances where students set fire to their schools.

Inspector G. H. Barry wrote in 1941 that, in his opinion, the fire that destroyed a classroom block at the Alberni, British Columbia, school was not an accident, and that other buildings might meet the same fate "till such time as the feeling of the local Indians changes." Barry also noted that it would have been possible to save the building if recommendations he had made previously for improvements in firefighting equipment at the school been implemented.[182] The Alberni principal reported that, while there was no evidence that "any Indian set the fire," there was, among local First Nations people, "very real opposition to the school."[183]

After a police investigation into the 1942 fire that destroyed two classrooms at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school, three young boys were taken into custody.[184] The local Indian agent, M. Christianson, felt that these boys had been acting on the instruction of some older boys. He believed that the older boys should be discharged before they "do something they shouldn't." He also believed the male staff members at the school were all "weak sisters," who could not handle the older boys.[185] Five students were convicted for their role in setting the fire. One twelve-year-old boy was sentenced to three months in the Regina Industrial School (a provincial government reformatory).

Two fifteen-year-old boys were sentenced to three and a half months in the Regina Industrial School. At the end of that time, they were to be transferred to the Brandon, Manitoba, residential school. Two sixteen-year-old boys were sentenced to a year in the Moosomin, Saskatchewan, jail. The parents of the two fifteen-year-olds paid a lawyer to represent their sons; the other boys had no legal representation. According to Indian agent Christianson:

> At the trial and investigation it was revealed that the five sentenced are not any worse than the other boys at the School because everybody knew the night before that the fire was going to take place, apparently with the exception of the Staff. I must say that the boys who were reprimanded seemed to be very nice and this was borne out by the Principal of the Industrial School in Regina.[186]

A Mounted Police investigation into the Lac la Ronge, Saskatchewan, school fire of 1947 concluded that two twelve-year-old boys had set the fire. Indian agent J. P. B. Ostrander recommended against prosecution, saying that if the boys were sentenced to the Regina Industrial school, they would be placed among "incorrigible white boys." Prosecution, he felt, would also turn the boys into heroes. Similarly, Saskatchewan Department of Justice officials opposed prosecution. Church officials, however, requested prosecution, as did R. A. Hoey, then the director of Indian Affairs.[187] One boy was prosecuted and given a sentence of an indefinite period on October 29, 1947. He was originally sent to the Regina Industrial School. There, he was diagnosed with tuberculosis and was sent to the Indian Hospital at Qu'Appelle. He was returned to his home community on February 23, 1948.[188] In the fall of 1948, Indian Affairs was considering sending the same boy to the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school. Ostrander opposed the recommendation, saying it would be preferable to commit him to the care of his father.[189] The charges against the other boy were dismissed on July 19, 1948.[190]

Two boys were suspected of setting the fire that destroyed the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school in 1948, but the police investigation reached no definitive conclusions.[191] According to the account of a student, published in 1993, the fire was set by four boys who warned the rest of the boys in advance. The girls were not told, because the "girls' dormitories were on the other side and so they had lots of time to get out."[192]

A twelve-year-old girl admitted to setting fire to a dormitory at the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school in 1951, in the hopes that if the school burned down, she would be sent home.[193] The fire had been quickly brought under control.[194] After an appearance in juvenile court, she was remanded for an indefinite period, and she was transferred to the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school.[195]

Indian Affairs official J. R. Bell believed that the 1956 fire in the wood storage room of the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school had been deliberately set. Some of the older boys told Bell that "someone in the school started the fire, but would not or could not name anyone."[196] A decade later at the same school, two thirteen-year-old boys were caught

attempting to set fire to the building. They were observed before the fire got out of control, and limited damage was done. Principal J. Bourbonnais described the boys as "far of being bright." He noted that if the fire had burned for another five minutes, the school might have been destroyed, since "the water system which was supposed to be changed and improved two years ago, has not been done yet."[197] Indian Affairs official W. Karashowsky wrote that since it was evident the boys were "not happy in a residential school," they could be placed in a day school close to their home community.[198]

The principal of the Roman Catholic school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, E. Turenne, reported that students had tried to set the school on fire on two consecutive days in the spring of 1968. On one occasion, three girls set a cardboard box on fire in their dormitory. Two of them then went to bed in the dormitory, while a third called the matron. The principal said that one of the children who set the fire was "very deeply disturbed." The fire was put out quickly before it could cause any damage. The next day, a girl set a sheet on fire in the laundry. On being questioned by the principal, she was "quite confused," saying she did "not know why she started the fire." In this case as well, the fire was quickly brought under control.[199]

In 1977, the Qu'Appelle school was hit by a series of fires. There was a fire in the junior boys' dormitory in March 1977.[200] One month later, there was a fire in the senior girls' playroom.[201] There was a trash-can fire at the school in May of that year and a fire in the junior girls' locker room in June.[202] In September, a staff member reported that she had overheard a few boys saying "they wished for the school to burn down so as they could go to a different school." Later that day, she found evidence of an attempt to set a fire in the boys' locker room.[203] In April 1978, a group of girls set fire to the curtains in the senior girls' dormitory at the school. According to an incident report, "All girls concerned were spoke to" by staff.[204] It does not appear that any of the students were prosecuted for these activities.

There were also cases of students and staff members accidentally starting fires. Sparks from a torch being used by maintenance staff during a repair job ignited a fire in the engine room of the Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, school in 1952. The fire quickly spread and burned the school to the ground.[205] In January 1967, a fire broke out one night in a staff member's room at the Churchill Vocational Centre. The fire was brought under control without loss of life or injury.[206] Three boys smoking in their room in the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, residence set paper in a garbage can on fire in 1986. For this, they were grounded "to their beds except for meals or any extra work that needs doing."[207]

Enforcement of fire regulations hastens school closings: mid-1950s–1970

For much of their history, Canadian residential schools operated outside the jurisdiction of existing fire regulations. Constitutionally, provincial governments had responsibility for establishing and enforcing building codes, but, prior to the 1970s, they delegated this responsibility to municipalities. The result was a multiplicity of conflicting codes—or, in some cases, a complete lack of regulation. Many residential schools were located in remote rural and northern locations that didn't have municipal government, building codes, or fire inspectors. In 1941, the National Research Council (NRC) published a National Building Code. It was not until 1963 that the NRC developed a companion National Fire Code. Neither of these codes had legal standing. Instead, they were meant to be used by municipalities as a model for their building codes. It was only through a slow and uneven process that municipalities adopted these codes. In 1973, eight provinces took responsibility for building codes away from the municipalities, issuing province-wide regulations based on the National Building Code.[208]

Although they lacked legal force, the federal codes were used as a basis to assess conditions in residential schools and to make recommendations for improvements. By the late 1950s, the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office, a branch of the federal government, examined all the preliminary designs on buildings designed by the Department of Public Works, and approved final working drawings.[209] In 1957, Indian Affairs recommended that the plans for a classroom block at the Mission, British Columbia, school not be based on the plans for the dormitory built for the Hobbema, Alberta, school. Since the Mission school would be located on the fringe of Greater Vancouver, it was thought "a fire resisting construction would be more suitable."[210] This suggests that the construction of the Hobbema dormitory did not use fire-resistant construction technologies.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, federal and provincial fire marshals began to pay increasing attention to the residential schools. Not surprisingly, they judged the schools to be overcrowded fire traps. The standard recommendation was the installation of expensive sprinkler systems. In 1950, for example, the Nova Scotia fire marshal recommended that a sprinkler system be installed in the Shubenacadie school.[211] Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan in effect rejected the fire marshal's recommendation, telling the school principal that Indian Affairs had not installed sprinklers in any of its residential schools.[212] By this time, the federal government was committed to closing the system down and usually tried to bargain for time. In many cases, schools were allowed to stay in operation if they installed smoke and heat detectors and reduced enrolment. These compromises were also based on an understanding that the school would close in a few years.

A 1950 inspection of the North Vancouver, British Columbia, school (sometimes referred to as the "Squamish school") concluded that the school was "over crowded" and a "Fire Hazard." North Vancouver Fire Warden A. H. Abbott estimated that if the school caught fire at night, at least half the students would be lost.[113] The British Columbia fire marshal condemned the building and ordered that it be closed by the beginning of the 1958–59 school year. Indian Affairs won the school a one-year reprieve by agreeing to reduce enrolment and employ a night watchman. At the end of the year, the students were to be transferred to new day schools, or to a new building being constructed at Mission.[114] The Squamish Band did not support the closing of the school, or the reduction in enrolment to fifty. In response, Indian Affairs scaled back the proposed decrease in enrolment.[115]

The risks that the government was running were underscored when fire destroyed a Roman Catholic mission hospital in Alexis Creek, British Columbia, on the Anahim Reserve. Twelve First Nations children, eleven of whom were under the age of five, died in the blaze, which swiftly roared through the two-storey frame building. Only one child was rescued. The twelfth boy who died was nine-year-old Marvin Chat, a student at the Williams Lake residential school. He and two of his siblings were in the hospital being treated for injuries received in a traffic accident.[116]

While a new school was under construction at Mission, the Oblates were worried the fire marshal might not allow the old buildings to continue in use until the new buildings opened.[117] The Christie, British Columbia, school needed extensive renovations to satisfy the recommendations of a 1960 British Columbia fire marshal's inspection. These included improvements to wiring, to the water supply, and to the fire escapes.[118] Despite the improvements made in 1963, the following year, a federal fire inspector judged fire protection at the school to be "poor." He said, "A fire would spread so rapidly in the main building that any form of protection requiring human operation would be of little value." While there was a sufficient number of fire escapes and stairwells, they were all of wooden construction and "could easily be rendered unusable in the event of a fire."[119]

When the fire commissioner recommended the installation of a sprinkler system at the Christie school in 1965, Indian Affairs sought to install a fire-detection system as an alternative, again arguing that the building would be closed "within a reasonable period." The Dominion Fire Commissioner's office rejected that proposal, and the school was faced with the prospect of having to significantly reduce its enrolment.[120] The Christie residence closed in 1971.[121] The government used a similar argument at the Sechelt, British Columbia, school, where a fire inspector once again ordered the installation of a sprinkler system in 1965. Because the government said the building would close within five years, the Dominion Fire Commissioner dropped the requirement to install sprinklers on the condition that a fire-detection system be installed.[122] The school was still in operation in 1973, three years after the promised closure. An

inspection report from that year noted that the school was "not afforded automatic sprinkler protection and a developed fire would spread rapidly."[111]

According to a 1964 inspection, the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school was overcrowded, with some dormitories having only thirty square feet (2.78 square metres) per student as opposed to the recommended fifty square feet (4.64 square metres).[112] That same year, an inspection report on the Kamloops, British Columbia, school noted that although most of the school dormitories met minimum space requirements, dormitories in the main building were "quite overcrowded." Fire protection was assessed as being inadequate, due to the "interior highly combustible construction used in the main residence." It was recommended that a sprinkler system be installed and that overcrowding be reduced.[113] An inspection of the Lytton, British Columbia, school reached nearly identical conclusions.[114] An inspection of the Williams Lake school in 1965 described fire protection as being "wholly inadequate." The building was of "combustible construction" and lacked a sprinkler system. The existing fire equipment was judged to be in "poor maintenance."[115] A follow-up inspection to the Kamloops school in 1965 noted little improvement. Fire protection was described as "unsatisfactory." The alarm system was in "poor condition," and the fire extinguishers were "old and battered."[116]

Similar conditions prevailed in Alberta. In 1958, Alberta Deputy Fire Commissioner W. D. MacKay informed Indian Affairs that although the Fort Vermilion, Alberta, school had room to house 103 students in its dormitories, he recommended that, due to the "highly combustible interior, the open stairways, and the general hazardous condition of this building," enrolment be limited to fifty. This would not eliminate the fire hazard, but would make the evacuation of the building safer.[117] Roman Catholic officials opposed the move, saying there was a strong local need for residential schooling, and that fire drills had demonstrated that the school could be quickly emptied.[118] After considering the Catholic request to allow a larger enrolment, Indian Affairs, on the advice of the fire marshal, maintained its position that enrolment had to be reduced to fifty.[119]

That same year, an Alberta fire inspector delivered a devastating report on the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Brocket, Alberta. Indian Affairs official H. E. Bentle commented that "the inspector has not recommended any additional fire escapes or repairs to the existing. It would appear from his report that no matter what precautions were taken the buildings would still be a fire trap."[120] This led to a decision to reduce enrolment in the school, a measure that was opposed by the Peigan members of the Father Lacombe Council of the Knights of Columbus. The Knights claimed that the government was attempting to close the Catholic residential school surreptitiously, against the wishes of the local First Nations people.[121] In January 1960, Indian Affairs had decided to reduce the Catholic school enrolment from seventy-eight to fifty-two. In addition, the minister responsible for Indian Affairs had also agreed to

a closure of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican schools as soon as other school facilities could be provided.[116]

The cost of recommended fire-safety improvements hastened the closure of a number of schools. In 1963, the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office had recommended the installation of a sprinkler system at the Cluny, Alberta, school. Indian Affairs requested an exemption from the order on the grounds that the school would be closed within five years, and the residence did close in 1968.[117] Principal Adrian Chanvon opposed the closing. In response to the assertion of Indian Affairs that the school was being closed to address complaints about fire hazards, Chanvon said, "It's the same hazard since 1911."[118]

When the Dominion Fire Commissioner called for $25,000 worth of improvements to the school's fire escapes at Blue Quills, Alberta, Indian Affairs sought a temporary reprieve that would allow the existing fire escapes to be used for an additional two or three years.[119] The Dominion Fire Commissioner's office agreed to the delay, while requiring an upgrade to the glass in the stairwell windows to limit the spread of any potential fire.[120]

A 1967 inspection of the Fort Vermilion, Alberta, school made a number of recommendations for improvement. However, the inspector concluded that "due to its age and the combustible nature of the construction materials, even a minor fire could prove disastrous. The building is also structurally unsound and therefore it is the opinion of the writer that serious consideration should be given to discontinuing its use."[121] The residence closed at the end of the 1967–68 school year.[122] In December 1968, the Immanuel, Alberta, school required $115,000 in repairs to bring it up to fire code. Instead, R. F. Davey, the director of Indian Education, recommended that the school be closed at the end of June 1969.[123] The residence closed at the end of the 1968–69 school year.[124] In the case of the Assumption, Alberta, school, in 1969, Indian Affairs felt it could avoid making $45,000 worth of repairs if it closed the school at the end of the following school year.[125] By 1970, the estimated cost of repairing the school had jumped to $120,000.[126] The residence, with no safety repairs, closed only three years later, in 1973.[127] In March 1969, Indian Affairs was faced with the prospect of making $60,000 worth of repairs to the Morley, Alberta, school in order to rectify known fire hazards identified by the Dominion Fire Commissioner.[128] Instead, the residence building was closed at the end of June that year.[129]

A 1963 inspection of the Roman Catholic school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, pointed out that the National Building Code required sprinklers in wood-frame buildings. However, since the principal indicated that the main building would be closed within five years, it was acceptable to install an automatic fire alarm system.[130] In 1969, the Dominion Fire Commissioner was calling for $55,000 worth of work to the Onion Lake school.[131] Indian Affairs proposed that rather than making the repairs, it employ an additional night watchman at the school.[132] The Onion Lake school did

school hostel. Instead, it served as a dormitory for students in an adult training program.[109] In October 1977, there was a mattress fire in a dormitory at Akaitcho Hall, Yellowknife. It was brought under control without any damage or loss of life.[110]

In November 1982, the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office ordered the installation of a sprinkler system in the Brunswal, Saskatchewan, school. Indian Affairs disputed the need for such a system at the school, but the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office insisted that the risk of loss of life justified the installation of such a system.[111] It was not until June 1984 that the federal government received quotes for installing the system. The price was $33,666.[112] The record is not clear as to whether the system was ever installed, but the Brunswal residence continued to operate until 1995.[113]

In light of the many flaws identified above, it is important to recognize that from 1980 onwards, particularly in northern Canada, many new school residences were constructed. The buildings did provide a higher degree of fire protection than had the buildings in the past. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been able to identify only four students who died as a result of in-school fires during this period, compared to at least thirty-five students and two staff members who died in fires in the years prior to 1980. This decrease in the number of deaths can be attributed in part to these improvements. However, the problems that R. A. Hoey identified in 1980 remained prevalent for the next fifty-seven years. Few of the older schools were renovated to meet "the minimum standards in the construction of public buildings, particularly institutions for the education of children."[114] Many schools were repeatedly described as fire hazards, recommendations for improvements went unheeded, and dangerous and forbidden practices, such as the locking of fire escapes, were widespread and entrenched. In the interests of cost containment, the Canadian government placed the lives of students and staff at risk for six decades.

CHAPTER 39

Runaways and truants: 1940–2000

When Sam Ross from northern Manitoba was sent to the Birtle school in southwestern Manitoba in the late 1950s, he was first put to work doing chores in the school barn. In November of his first year, he told the principal:

> "I didn't come here for, to work with animals." I said, you know, "We're not used to animals." I said, We're up north there where, what people live out, they did their living by trapping, fishing and working in the forest, cutting timber, selling wood, fire wood; but nothing, nothing to do with farm animals. We don't have that up north.

Ross was transferred to the boiler room.

> I went with this guy and he taught me, for three weeks this guy taught me how to look after the boiler room. And I got used to, you know I picked up quickly you know, how to look after the boiler room. But it was a lot of work though. Every, like Friday, Saturday, I, I got on a little tractor with a trailer. I had to go about pretty near a mile out to that railroad siding; there was a, box cars would sit there and with a full load of, they were full of coal.

He became proficient at working in the boiler room, but found it exhausting and asked to be sent home. When the principal refused to let him go, Ross, who was eighteen years old, made up his mind to run away. He located a map of Manitoba and studied train routes. He also began to set aside food and money. Aware that his mail was being read, he wrote his mother, asking her to send him

> a pair of good mitts and a scarf; two thick winter mitts and a scarf and ten dollars, put the ten dollars in the thumb part of the mitt I said, in that letter. And then I, I had to go and mail that letter in town because when you give it, when you put your letter in there, their box there before they mail them out, they would read your letter. And if they didn't like what you were writing to your parents they would just throw it away or I don't know.

While he was in the midst of making his preparations, he was accused of attempting to slip into the girls' dormitory. He denied the charges and was let off with a warning. The confrontation with the principal over this matter led him to hasten his departure. He left that night, although it was winter. He had originally intended to jump onto a train when it passed through a nearby town, but he discovered that the train stopped in that town. He boarded the train as a passenger that evening and rode it to Minnedosa, Manitoba, a distance of about 100 kilometres. There, he spent the night sleeping in a corner of the train station. He overslept and missed the next day's bus to The Pas, which was 500 kilometres to the north. After selling his wallet and knife, he had just enough money to get him to Overflowing River, Manitoba, 100 kilometres south of The Pas.

When he got off the bus, he recognized some people from his home community. One of them was Edward Lathlin. "I don't forget that guy. And I asked him, he recognized me. 'Where did you come from?' he said. 'Oh I ran away from, I'm running away from school,' I said, 'I'm just about there,' I said. 'I'm stuck; and this is as far as I can go. I don't have more money,' I said, 'to buy my fare.'"

Lathlin and his friends fed Ross and gave him money to get home. After a night's rest, Ross's family took him to the Indian agent, who was angered that the principal had not informed him or members of Ross's family that he had run away. Instead of sending him back to Birtle, the agent sent him to the Brandon residential school. Many students were critical of that school, but Ross said it was "way better than where I was before. And they even taught us how to look after our money over there. You get allowance, when you're in school. They would write down how you spent your money; they would teach you how to live."[1]

Sam Ross was one of hundreds of residential school students who ran away during this period (from 1940 to 1998). His story has much in common with those of other students. He ran away because he was overworked; the journey he was undertaking was long and arduous; and he succeeded because he had the support of friends and family. Others were not so lucky. At least seventeen runaway students died, and many others were seriously injured. Indian Affairs was well aware of the fact that conditions at the schools drove students to run away. Underfunding of the schools intensified those pressures throughout much of this period. Officials were also well aware of the risks that students faced in running away—runaways had died in 1935, 1937, and 1939. By the 1940s, the federal government had yet to put in place clear, nationwide policies for the reporting of runaways, and for the measures that should be taken for their safe return. Shockingly, it would not be until 1971 that national policies were put in place.

Reasons for running away

In May 1943, Mounted Police officer W. E. Needham prepared a brief report on why he thought students were continually running away from Mount Elgin near London, Ontario. When he returned students to the school, he had asked them why they had left. The answers were brief, usually to the effect that the student did not like it there or felt unfairly treated. Needham wrote that, from his observations, "the discipline is too severe, also these children have very little or no recreation, and with help so scarce they are obliged to do the majority of the farm work, resulting in these children being overworked." Each winter, he wrote, the students have to unload several railcar loads of coal. In his opinion, this was work "that is much too heavy for them." He said there were a number of children at the school who were over the age of sixteen and should have had the legal right to leave. "They are kept at school to assist in the farm work, thus engendering in their minds somewhat of a rebellious spirit."[2]

In 1953, J. E. Andrews, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, shared with Indian Affairs his own pseudo-scientific theories for the causes of the school's runaway problem:

> Causes of truancy appear to be basically primitive in nature and need careful and scientific investigation from a broad anthropological basis. Motives which might be described as the "call of the seasons", the bush, and so forth, have a bearing on this problem. Phases of the moon have something to do with it as well as crisp frosty weather. Childish reasons such as "the boys were teasing us" are quite adequate from the child's point of view to justify his starting out on a fifty to one hundred mile trek in sub zero weather with no provision for food or shelter and, considering the journey, inadequately clothed.

Moving from the anthropological to the material, Andrews wrote that, of the factors contributing to truancy, "the lack of well-equipped playgrounds and the shortage of playroom space and facilities rank foremost." The playrooms were so small that each child had but a "small patch of flooring about four feet by four feet three inches."[3] In this view, he was not alone. That same year, A. Lacelle, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, attributed his school's runaway problem to "our inability to have any organized sports at the school due to lack of play grounds."[4]

Although it is doubtful that playgrounds alone would have kept students from running away, little was done throughout this period to make most schools attractive to students. As other chapters in this volume demonstrate, there was much about the schools that they might wish to escape. And escape they did.

The runaway epidemic of the 1940s

The word *epidemic* was used frequently in official correspondence to describe the frequency and numbers of students running away from residential schools in the 1940s. There were severe truancy issues at schools across the country. The problem was not restricted to small or remote schools. Students also ran away from large and well-established schools, and from relatively new schools. They ran away from Catholic and Protestant schools. They ran away from schools that were close to urban settlements, and they ran away from schools that were in isolated locations.

In the 1942–43 school year, approximately sixty students ran away from the Mount Elgin school.[5] The mother of one of the boys who ran away in the spring of 1943 asked that her son be discharged when he was located. She said, "Each time he has run away and when they got him back the principal of the School gives him a big beating up but he says that will not make him stay." The last time she saw him, he told her "he would rather leave school and work out on a farm."[6] This was a very real option, since the wartime labour shortage had created significant employment opportunities for boys who were prepared to do farm work. Principal Oliver Strapp thought the government should prosecute farmers who hired runaways for employing underage boys.[7] Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey rejected the idea.[8] The boy was eventually located and discharged from the school. Strapp then insisted that he would not return the clothing the boy had come to school in until the family gave him the clothing the boy had been wearing when he ran away (or provide a $5 payment). When the boy's father complained to Indian Affairs, the branch instructed Strapp to return the boy's clothing.[9]

The Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, experienced a rash of runaways in early 1949. On January 23, twenty-five girls ran away from the school. All but two were quickly located and returned to the school. Within two weeks, ten of the girls ran away for a second time.[10] The Mounted Police concluded that many of them were staying at the home of a resident of the Six Nations Reserve for several days before heading for their home reserve. The resident of the reserve was prosecuted under the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* for harbouring refugees from an institution.[11] In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate a record as to the disposition of the case. However, Indian Affairs did consider having several of the girls, those who were believed to be the leaders of the group of truants, committed to a reformatory.[12]

Truancy problems plagued the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school throughout the 1940s. Between 1941 and 1946, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) prepared at least sixteen separate reports on investigations into students who had run away from there.[13]

Five boys ran away from the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school on the morning of April 22, 1940. The RCMP was informed of their disappearance on the afternoon of the

following day. Two of the boys were quickly located, and another boy was returned to school on April 30.[14] However, it was not until May 25 that two brothers were located on the Lake Manitoba Indian Reserve.[15]

Six boys, ranging in age from eleven to fourteen, ran away from the Brandon, Manitoba, school on September 29, 1942. Four were located, but two brothers (Reginald and Lawrence Doota) were still missing by October 1.[16] Two more boys ran away on January 9, 1943.[17] One of them was found by police on the Peguis Reserve on January 29.[18] On January 11, 1943, four boys (again including Lawrence Doota, who had apparently been returned to the school) caught a freight train going west. With the assistance of the Mounted Police, they were located later that day near Oak Lake, Manitoba, and returned to the school.[19]

The local Indian agent said in 1942 that "truancy is rife" at the Birtle school. He suggested that numerous changes in staff, and the fact that the boys knew they could "get work outside at fair wages," led boys to run away.[20] In April 1942, a seventeen-year-old and two fourteen-year-old boys ran away from the Birtle school, making their way back to the Cote Reserve in Saskatchewan. A Mounted Police officer located the younger boys and placed them on a train back to Manitoba. Of the older boy, the police officer wrote "it appears that little can be done if he does not wish to return to school."[21] The Birtle principal, N. M. Rusaw, reported on August 1, 1948, that a student named Solomon was missing.[22] The boy was not located until mid-September. He had been working for farmers in the Portage la Prairie area. According to Rusaw, the boy was "quite happy" to be back at the school.[23]

In late October 1941, two fifteen-year-old boys ran away from the Portage la Prairie school. Fellow students told the police that the boys, who were from the Roseau River Reserve in southern Manitoba, intended to hop a freight train and search for work.[24] The Mounted Police located the two on their home reserve on November 5.[25] On November 30, 1941, another boy from the Roseau River Reserve ran away from the Portage school. He too was located by the Mounted Police on his home reserve and returned to the school.[26] Later that month, one of the first two boys once again ran away, and was once again located on the Roseau River Reserve and returned to the Portage school by the Mounted Police.[27]

In October 1940, the Mounted Police located and returned a boy who had run away from the Grayson, Saskatchewan, school.[28] The Mounted Police returned two boys who had run away from the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school in January 1940.[29] Two boys ran away from the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, on May 17, 1941. They found work with a local farmer, but were located by the Mounted Police a few days later on May 20 and returned to school.[30] Five boys ran away from the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school on October 1, 1944. The Mounted Police were notified of their disappearance on October 4. Two of the boys were returned to the school by their parents after a week. Two other boys were located at their parents' home and

returned to the school without any reported objections. The fifth boy was found travelling with his parents. According to the police, the boy's mother "was against his returning to the school, but finally the boy got in the car."[31] In April 1945, one of the boys, along with another schoolmate, ran away again from the same school.[32] They were picked up in the town of Punnichy and returned to the school after spending a night at the Punnichy police detachment.[33] Two thirteen-year-old girls had previously run away and been returned to the Grayson, Saskatchewan, school by the local Indian agent. When they ran away for a second time in October 1944, the principal called in the police. The police located them at the home of the father of one of the girls, and returned them to the school. According to the officer, "They were warned about their conduct and promised not to cause any more trouble."[34] Two boys who ran away from the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school were found at their family homes on the Pasqua Reserve and returned to the school in the winter of 1949. Once again, the police officers warned the parents "against further allowing their children to remain away from school."[35]

In the spring of 1945, seventeen boys were truant from the Hobbema, Alberta, school.[36] The problem had developed in the fall when many of the older boys took farm work rather than returning to the school, making between $5 and $6 a day. Because they were over fifteen years of age, the Indian agent could not force them to return to school. According to the school principal, once they discovered that the truants would not be forced back to school, other older boys also left to seek farm work.[37] Three years later, five children were truant from the Hobbema school. However, because the school was overcrowded and the students were fifteen years of age, the Indian agent decided not to seek their return.[38]

In British Columbia, Indian Affairs sought to remind school principals that they were responsible for students not only when they were in school, but also when they had run away. When the principal of the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school asked Indian Affairs to help track down three young girls who, he believed, had made their way to Victoria, the department provided only reluctant assistance. Indian agent H. H. Moore wrote in 1946 that he thought there were "entirely too many runaways from this School owing to lack of supervision." He objected to the principal's view that "it is the responsibility of this Department to round up these children and bring them back without any, or very little exertion on the part of School authorities."[39] The Alert Bay, British Columbia, school was hit with what the principal termed an "epidemic of truancy" in the fall of 1947.[40]

The residential school records on runaway students are fragmentary. Even if the records were complete, it might not be possible to gain a full understanding of the extent to which children were running away, since it is apparent that many cases were not reported.

The reporting of runaway students

Many Indian Affairs officials did not believe that principals provided proper notification when a student ran away. The principal of the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, Oliver Strapp, neglected to inform Indian Affairs of the school's persistent problem with runaways. It was only from the Mounted Police that the local Indian agent, George Owens, learned in June 1943 that there had been approximately sixty runaways from Mount Elgin in the previous year.[1]

In 1940, school inspector G. H. Barry suspected that the principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, school was reporting runaways as being discharged rather than missing. The local Indian agent, who did not get along with the Lytton principal, had told Barry that "at least nine pupils had run away this year, but there were probably more unreported to him."[2] Sometimes, Indian Affairs had to prod schools for information on runaways. In 1942, Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan wrote to Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, principal J. P. Mackey, asking whether a runaway boy had returned. Phelan said that he supposed the boy "is well able to look after himself, but we have had some unfortunate experiences at other schools when pupils wandered."[3] Indian Affairs had not been informed that the boy in question had already been located and returned to the school.[4]

Under Regulation 10.4 of the Indian Residential School Regulations adopted in 1953, the school principal was to "take prompt action to effect the return to school of any truant pupil, and shall report promptly to the Superintendent [of Education], Indian Agency, every case of truancy."[5] Despite such explicit instructions, the problem of the non-reporting of runaway students continued. After a change of administration at the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school in 1961, the Anglican Church discovered that the previous principal had been under-reporting the truancy problem—which was attributed to the poor job being done by the school's student supervisor—and had been collecting grants for students who were no longer attending school.[6]

The Mounted Police and the search for runaway students

Late on the evening of April 16, 1941, fourteen-year-old John Kioki, thirteen-year-old Michael Sutherland, and eleven-year-old Michel Mattinas slipped out of their dormitory at the Fort Albany school. Fort Albany is located in northern Ontario, a short distance from James Bay. The boys had been hoarding bread for several days, and John had a bow and arrow, expecting to obtain additional food with it. After discovering their disappearance, Principal Paul Laughrin worried that the boys might have tried to cross a river, fallen through the thin ice, and been carried off to James Bay.[7] Their fate was never known, but they were presumed to have died. At the inquiry held

[illegible] Mitchell Mushkin said he was satisfied that all had been done to locate the boys.[9] However, Robin Kinkel's father said he was "not more satisfied with the search was made for my son and the other boys."[10]

Phillip Phelan, chief of the training division for Indian Affairs, was not satisfied with the way the matter had been handled. On July 17, 1945, he wrote to Rex D. Hoffman, Victor Sprondle of Jemez Day, to say that both the Mounted Police and Indian Affairs should have been notified of the boys' truancy sooner, as "any unusual event at a school, especially where the results are fatal, should be immediately brought to the Department's attention." He never addressed that even if they had been notified sooner, they probably could not have "done much," due to weather conditions. Despite this, Phelan acknowledged Hoffman, saying that a "more determined effort should have been made by the principal and staff to locate these boys," as the incident was "likely to have a very disturbing effect on the Indians [that would] naturally react on the school." He then ordered Hoffman to send out instructions to the principals of the schools in his division, indicating that "where any pupil absents from the school immediate and effective efforts should be made to locate the pupil."[11] As in the 1930s, Indian Affairs did not take the opportunity to send out a system-wide instruction to this effect. Instead, the message was limited to the Catholic schools in one division.

One month after the three boys had run away from the Fort Wingate school, U. R. S. MacInnes, the secretary of the Indian Affairs branch, had issued an instruction much more widely that was focused to make searches and the return of students more effective. In a May 1945 circular to all inspectors, Indian agents, and residential school principals, MacInnes announced a "radical change" in departmental policy regarding the "services of the R.C.M.P. In order to locate truants or absentees pupils from Indian residential schools." He wrote that it had been customary in the past for Indian agents and principals to request RCMP assistance in finding and returning runaway students to schools. The policy, however, changed this custom by instructing Indian Affairs. As a result, MacInnes wrote, "we are required to pay yearly a substantial amount over which we have no control." Under the new policy, the RCMP was not to be contacted "unless the Principals and staffs of the Indian Agencies have exhausted all their efforts." MacInnes wrote that

> we must depend on a large extent on Indian Agents, Farming Instructors, and other officials [to] co-operate with Principals of Indian schools in locating and returning truant and absentee students. In making this statement it is understood that the Principals of Indian residential schools are also expected to put forth every effort to return absentee pupils without cost to the Department before calling on Indian Agents and other officials to assist them.[12]

In comparing MacInnes's above and forceful message sent to all the relevant parties, and Phelan's far more selectively delivered message, something becomes very

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

The principal eventually sent out some boys, including Albert's brother, to bring the runaways back, but they returned without them. In the morning, the principal saw Albert's father at mass and discovered the boy had not gone home the previous night. The father, thinking his son might have gone to his grandfather's home, went to look for him there. Instead, he discovered his son's body, frozen to death on the trail. Albert had become separated from the other boys when he was unable to cross a river that they crossed and had collapsed on the trail. The scout report on the death noted, "Father de Bretagne explained that it is customary if any of the boys leave that either members of the family will go look for them or as was the case in this instance when the deceased's brother George and two other boys started after the three boys who had left."[77] In other words, he generally left it to family members to find and retrieve the runaway. While Philip Phelan questioned whether the principal had handled the case properly, R. S. Davis, the regional supervisor of Indian agencies, reported that "reasonable steps to find the boy were taken," since a search was started once it was discovered that Albert had not gone home.[78] It is not clear from the record if Phelan pursued the matter, but, by the end of July 1951, a new principal had been appointed.[79]

In November 1956, four boys ran away from the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school. An Ontario Provincial Police officer became involved in the search. He was informed, incidentally, that two other boys, Tom and Charles Ombash, aged twelve and eleven, had run away from the school one month earlier, on October 5, 1956. The four boys that the police had been called in to search for were located, but by December 19, the Ombash brothers were still missing.[80] Not only had Sioux Lookout principal Eric Barrington not informed the police about the brothers' disappearance for over a month, but he had not informed Indian Affairs, either. In a letter to the local Indian agent about the matter, R. F. Davey, the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, wrote, "It is inconceivable to me that Mr. Barrington would let pupils be absent from the school for a month without knowing where they are or without reporting the matter to you."[81] The boys were never located, and there appears to have been no negative consequence for Barrington.[82] He remained as principal of the school for another five years, until he was appointed principal of the Wabasca, Alberta, school in 1961.[83]

On January 16, 1959, two sisters, Beverly and Patricia Marilyn Joseph, aged twelve and fourteen, respectively, left the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school, making their departure in a small boat. The girls' disappearance was not discovered until the next morning, and it was not reported to the police until that afternoon, after school officials had searched the island. Patricia Marilyn's body was found washed ashore ten kilometres from Kuper Island.[84] By the fall of that year, her sister had not been found and she was presumed dead.[85]

Thirteen-year-old Mabel Crane Bear, eleven-year-old Geraldine Black Rider, and ten-year-old Belinda Rae Eater ran away from the Anglican school at Gleichen, Alberta, on the afternoon of March 8, 1962. A sister of one of the girls told school staff

that they had intended to go to Mabel Crane Bear's home (the house of a Mr. and Mrs. Mayfield). Since school was cancelled for the following day, all the students in the school had been allowed to go home at 3:30 that afternoon. For this reason, the principal wrote, he "was not unduly concerned over the absence of these three girls." He noted that the weather was warm, and by the time it would have taken to retrieve them from Mabel's home, it would be time to dismiss them once more. As a result, he made no effort to return them to school. However, the girls quarrelled with the Mayfields and left the home in the evening. Shortly after they left, the region was hit by a blizzard. Geraldine survived the blizzard, but the two other girls froze to death.[62]

Three boys ran away from the Roman Catholic school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, on June 4, 1965. One of them, Alfred Whitehawk, died when he attempted to cross the Assiniboine River. The principal stated that he expected he would "need the help of the R.C.M.P. to bring back to school the other boys who are still at large. I feel that we do not get from the people the cooperation we need in locating these boys. The reserves are too big an area for me to cover, especially when some of the people purposely hide the children and pretend not to know where they are."[63]

The schools of northwestern Ontario were plagued by a serious runaway problem in the 1950s and 1960s. The cases of Guy Hunter, of the boy who, according to Kay Blake, lost a leg to a train, and of the Ombash brothers, who disappeared, are but three examples. In January 1962, a child who had run away from the Presbyterian school in Kenora (also known as the Cecilia Jeffrey school) had to be hospitalized due to exposure. The child recovered but several toes had to be amputated. The following January, a child who had run away from the school in McIntosh had to be hospitalized for treatment of frozen feet.[64]

These were preludes to a tragedy that drew national attention to the Cecilia Jeffrey school. On October 16, 1966, twelve students ran away from the school. Three of the boys walked for thirty-one kilometres, reaching the house of a Mr. Benson. He gave them food and let them sleep on the floor. The next morning, they made their way to the uncle of two of the boys, Charles Kelly. They were joined on that morning by one more of the runaways, another nephew of Kelly's. On October 19, after Kelly took his three nephews trapping, the remaining boy, Charlie Wenjack, continued on towards his parents' home at Ogoki in the Marten Falls First Nation in Ontario.[65]

Wenjack had never run away from the school before, which he had been attending since 1963. The week before he ran away, he had skipped a class. For that misdemeanour, he had been spanked.[66] He was twelve years old.

He started off walking down the Canadian National Railways line; his home was well over 600 kilometres away. Freezing rain at the time later turned to snow. On October 23, a train engineer spotted Wenjack's body lying by the side of the track. A pathologist concluded that he had been dead for twenty-four hours. His stomach was

empty, and all he had in his pockets was a glass jar of matches. He was clad in light clothing. There were bruises to his forehead, his left eyebrow, and one of his legs.[87]

The principal of Cecilia Jeffrey was Colin Wasacase. (He had grown up in the Round Lake, Portage la Prairie, and Birtle schools, and had worked at the Norway House and Birtle schools in Manitoba.)[88] As part of his efforts to ensure Wenjack's return, he had spoken to children about where Wenjack might have gone. He then travelled to Pine Point and Rabbit Lake in the Kenora area in search of the boy and his companions. Indian Affairs official P. C. Clarkin had gone to Rat Portage and Keewatin in search of the boys.[89]

Indian Affairs flew Wenjack's body home, along with his mother, several of his sisters (three of whom were also students at Cecilia Jeffrey), and the school principal. Charlie's father held the principal to blame for the death and refused at that time to allow his daughters to return to the school.[90] Wenjack's tragic death was brought to national attention by journalist Ian Adams's article "The Lonely Death of Charlie Wenjack," which was published in *Maclean's* magazine in February 1967.[91]

At the inquest into Wenjack's death, one of the boys who had run away with Charlie, ten-year-old Edward Cameron, said he ran away because he was lonesome. Several of the boys mentioned they had been strapped at the school. One of Wenjack's teachers, Ron Magnusson, told the inquest that Charlie had been a quiet boy; at one time, Wenjack had told him he longed to return to his family.[92] Principal Wasacase told the inquest that runaways had become a real problem at the school, largely because children were homesick. According to the newspaper account of the inquest, Wasacase

> said the strapping punishment was instituted as a corrective measure for students who run away. On one occasion sixteen girls left in a group and when they were apprehended he had endeavoured to try a lecture and see if this would help. Instead, the principal reported, the group made fun of him and termed him as being real "easy."[93]

The coroner's jury recommended that:

1. Mr. Charles Kelly should have notified the authorities of the boys [sic] presence.
2. Mr. Benson should have notified the authorities of the boys [sic] presence.
3. The Cecilia Jeffrey School needs more supervisory staff to adequately control the number of students involved.
4. The Indian education system causes tremendous emotional & adjustment problems for these children. It behooves we who are responsible for this organization to do everything possible to mitigate their problems. We make the following suggestions:
5. A study be made of the present Indian education & philosophy. Is it right?

6. Enrollment in the residential schools causes a disruption of the basic social unit (The Family). Therefore the enrollment should be on a smaller geographic scale to allow family liaison.
7. Brothers and sisters should not be separated in the interests of expediency.
8. Where a sufficient number exist a day school should be maintained.
9. We feel an improved situation could develop if the children are placed in private homes.
10. If the residential schools are to remain, reduce the number involved so personal relationship [sic] can develop between children and the administration.[94]

In response to the inquest's recommendations, R. F. Battle of Indian Affairs stated that "it is the practice of the Department not to separate members of the same family although this does occasionally happen by reason of circumstances beyond our control."[95] In January 1967, education services director R. F. Davey sent out a memorandum asking all regional superintendents to check with the residential schools in their region to report on the injuries experienced by residential school students "between the time of their running away from school and the time that they are apprehended" during the previous five years.[96]

A document prepared by Indian Affairs after Wenjack's death outlined the process to be followed when a student ran away from an Ontario residential school. Step one was to inform of the police; step two, to interview friends of the student; step three, to organize a search; and step four, to contact the Indian Affairs district superintendent of schools. After the student was missing for six hours, the parents were to be informed. It was to be made clear to the police that the student was not a fugitive from justice but was being sought to prevent their injury or suffering. The need for the preparation and circulation of such a document in 1966 underscores Indian Affairs' ongoing policy failure on this issue for almost 100 years leading up to that point. The fact that the document applied only to hostels or residential schools "operated under contract with the Indian Affairs branch by a religious body in Ontario" is also evidence of the continuing lack of a clearly enunciated national policy.[97]

Indian Affairs also carried out a review of conditions at Cecilia Jeffrey. The report showed that in September and October of 1966, fifty-five children were absent without leave from the school on a total of 146 occasions. Of those fifty-five, thirty were absent thirty-seven times. The school had an enrolment of 143. The periods of absence ranged from a half-day to a week. An Indian Affairs official identified six causes for the truancy problem: students' disrupted, often chaotic, home lives; the forced nature of enrolment; the lack of free-time activities in the hostel; inadequate staff leadership; the lack of privileges for teenage children; and insufficient supervisory staff. On the

latter point, it was noted that all six supervisors were newly hired. While many showed potential, they were all

> lacking in knowledge concerning the role of hostels, characteristics of the Indian children, their background of training and ways and means of handling the children. Little initiative, enterprise, imagination was shown by the Supervisors. They were also greatly lacking in leadership. I heard a great deal of, "I told them all to play volley ball". Even in the childrens' [sic] free-time they appear to be told what to do and as a result refused to participate.

The report's first recommendation was that the "Ontario Welfare Council be contracted to make a study of the families represented by the children enrolled in this hostel to determine if alternate arrangements for the children are advisable." The second recommendation was in keeping with the first, calling on child welfare agencies to provide families with more supports, thereby allowing their children to remain at home. The report also called for improvements in the recreational opportunities at the school, improved staff training, the hiring of extra staff, and the construction of a gymnasium.[98]

Education director R. F. Davey endorsed the recommendations and instructed staff to arrange for additional training for the existing supervisory staff. He also suggested bringing in experienced staff "of proven ability" from other Presbyterian schools, but cautioned that any new hires should be "competent help," arguing that the problem at the school lay with poorly trained staff. Davey said the construction of a gymnasium was a long-term measure. It should be remembered that as early as 1953, the school principal, J. E. Andrews, had identified the cramped and poorly maintained playrooms as a cause of truancy at the school.[99]

Students at Ontario schools continued to run away with tragic results. Joseph and Rockie Commanda had been expelled from a Catholic public school in Eganville, Ontario, in December 1967 for concerns over their attendance and behaviour. Because of what was described as "difficulty" in their home, it was felt they should be placed in a foster home. Since no such home could be located, they were enrolled in the Mohawk Institute, in Brantford, Ontario, in February 1968. With the approval of their parents, they were returned to the school at the start of the 1968–69 school year. However, at the end of the first day at school, they ran away. School officials notified the Hamilton, Burlington, Oakville, and Kitchener police of the boys' disappearance. On September 3, members of the Oakville police located the two boys. Rockie was convinced to enter the police car, but Joseph ran away. About six hours later, Joseph was struck and killed by a train while he was attempting to cross a series of tracks.[100]

Tragedy struck again in northwestern Ontario in 1970. Two twelve-year-old boys, Philip Swain and Roderick Keesick (his last name in some reports is also reported as Tayapaywakejick), were living at the Roman Catholic residence at Kenora in November 1970, and attending a local day school. On November 27, they left the school at noon

and did not return. Residence officials contacted the Kenora police at 9:35 that evening. The Kenora constable who took the call did not pass the information on to the Ontario Provincial Police, because he believed residence staff would do so. As a result, the provincial police were not contacted.[101] The instructions that Indian Affairs had issued in 1966 on what to do in the case of runaways had been vague about responsibility on this matter, merely instructing staff: "Notify the local office of the Ontario Provincial Police or the R.C.M.P. whichever is appropriate."[102]

The boys were trying to reach their homes at Grassy Narrows, ninety kilometres from Kenora. They spent the night of November 27 at Keesick's uncle's home in Jones, Ontario, and left the following morning.[103] They were not seen alive again. Swain's body was found on December 5 by a hunter on the roadside near Grassy Narrows. Keesick's body was discovered near Grassy Narrows two days later.[104]

A coroner's jury heard evidence on the deaths on December 17. It recommended that in future, the police be contacted immediately if students did not return to the school by dinnertime. Similarly, the police were to be contacted if students were missing in the morning. It was recommended that in such situations, the police commence an immediate search. Students should be given courses in wilderness survival, and an investigation should be conducted into why "the residential students run away."[105]

In the wake of this report, in 1971, Indian Affairs staff from the Kenora district met with school residence staff to discuss steps to be taken in the case of a runaway. Furthermore, all residence staff members across the country were to be instructed "to take immediate emergency steps when a student is missing" and to contact police officials if runaway children were not immediately located. In addition, staff members were to make every effort "to get in touch with parents or guardians." Schools were to consider implementing "a regular program of survival training for students who must live away from home to attend school."[106] National policies were finally being enunciated, at the same time that the residential school system was being wound down.

Stringer Hall, the Anglican residence in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, saw more runaways, and one more set of tragedies. In the spring of 1972, Ian and George Hurst, two boys under the age of ten, ran away from Stringer Hall on four occasions. Each time, they were located, or they returned to school on their own.[107] On June 23, 1972, three boys, Lawrence Jack Elanik, Bernard Andreason, and Dennis Dick, ran away from Stringer Hall.[108] Andreason was found alive a few kilometres from Tuktoyaktuk. He had walked approximately 150 kilometres and lost almost fourteen kilograms. His feet were badly swollen. Elanik's body was located, but the search for Dick was called off. Stringer Hall principal L. Holman reported:

> Everything that could possibly be done, was done, to try and locate these boys before it was too late. The R.C.M.P., the Regional Director's Office & Staff, owners of private aircraft, the various Air Services, Helicopter Operator's, [sic] private citizens and the men of the Armed Forces at Inuvik, did a valiant job.[109]

Parents worried about the dangers their children faced if they ran away. In October 1944, Charles Kehler of the Anglican day school at Massey, Ontario, wrote a letter to Indian Affairs on behalf of a local Aboriginal woman, Mrs. Jack Owl. Her son and a cousin had recently run away from the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, because "the Farm Instructor at the School abuses them, that he makes them work like men and that at times, he chases them with a pitch-fork." According to Kehler:

> Mrs. Owl is afraid that if Wilfred is sent back he will run away again, and she is fearful that in running away he may get hurt. It seems that when he ran away in September he and the other lad(s) jumped on to a freight train to get home. This time he says that he came by road. The boy's mother is afraid that if he runs away as he is doing he may meet with some serious accident, or, in the winter, get drozen [sic].

While he was at his mother's house, he said that if he had not run away with his cousin, "he would not have come near home, for he does not want to be sent back under existing circumstances. Mrs. Owl does not want her boy to run away sometime and wander about the country homeless for months."[110]

The treatment of runaway students

Runaways were subject to a variety of disciplinary measures on their return, including being strapped, having their hair cropped, and losing privileges. They also might be subject to a variety of other sanctions, ranging from discharge, transfer to another residential school, to institutionalization in a non-residential school.

In dealing with three boys who had repeatedly run away from the Squamish school in North Vancouver, Indian agent F. J. C. Ball recommended in 1940 that they each be sent to a different and more remote school: Kuper Island, Christie, and Kamloops. Such punishment would, it was felt, also "have a good effect on the other pupils."[111] When, in November 1945, a student made his way home from the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan, using a team of horses and a sleigh taken from the school, the Indian agent recommended that he be transferred to the Onion Lake Catholic school.[112] In 1953, two children from the Swan Lake Band in Manitoba, who had run away on several occasions from the Brandon school, were transferred to the Portage la Prairie school.[113]

After the disappearance of the Ombash brothers, in 1957, the principal of the Sioux Lookout school and Indian Affairs agreed on a plan to enrol children from the region at the more distant Kenora school. This, it was hoped, would discourage the students from running away. However, the parents objected to the plan. Principal Eric Barrington pointed out that the previous fall, the Sioux Lookout school staff "had not a moments [sic] peace with children 'taking off.'" However, Barrington wrote, "the

parents seem to think that the children now like to go to our school and will not cause any trouble. While this is a very gratifying thought I personally am not so sure that we would not have the same thing all over again."[114] But in the face of the parental opposition, the plan was abandoned. Instead, the local Indian agent was instructed to discharge all students who ran away.[115] A few years later, in 1964, Indian Affairs recommended transferring a number of habitual truants from the Presbyterian school in Kenora (Cecilia Jeffrey) to the Anglican school at Sioux Lookout.[116]

Indian Affairs official H. B. Hoyline did not approve of the intent of the principal of the Fort Frances, Ontario, school to have three students who had been regularly running away transferred to a more distant school. Instead, he recommended counselling to ensure that the students were offered the sort of training for which they were suited.[117]

Older runaways often were simply discharged. Four boys ran away from the Brandon school in the spring of 1940. One of them, who was seventeen years old at the time, was found in Sweetgrass, Montana. Because he was nearly eighteen, it was decided not to return him to the school. Given the fact that most of the other boys were also close to the age of legal dismissal from the school, the principal requested that police circulars calling for the apprehension of all the boys be cancelled.[118] When, in 1951, two boys ran away for the second time in a month, the Spanish, Ontario, boys' school principal wrote, "If there is any possibility of their staying home we shall be happily rid of them."[119]

Principals often sought to discharge students they thought to be "bad influences." Students who ran away were usually high on this list. Indian agent W. P. B. Pugh said that this approach had solved the truancy problem at the Blue Quills, Alberta, school, and recommended that it be employed at the Hobbema school, where, as late as November 7, 1945, ten students had yet to return to school from the summer vacation.[120] In December 1946, Brantford, Saskatchewan, principal F. X. Gagnon requested permission to discharge a boy who attempted to run away and had coaxed other boys to run away as well.[121] The following year, the father of a boy who had run away from the Sioux Lookout school was informed that it was "just as well if he does not come back here because he was actually a bad influence on the other boys." It was suggested that, instead of returning him, the father punish the boy and send him to day school.[122] That same year, Sioux Lookout school principal D. C. Wickenden asked for the discharge of three students who ran away within a week of their arrival at school. He wrote that "we do not feel that we should have them back as they are not desirable."[123] In 1956, the Spanish school principal, Leo Burns, was seeking Indian Affairs approval to discharge two girls who kept running away. The girls, who were sisters, "questioned the right of their being at the school against their parents' wishes." Burns wrote that they probably belonged in a reform school. When they ran away, they carried straws in their hands "to bash in the faces of those who took them."[124]

In some cases, it appears that school staff recognized that some children would be better off at home. In 1954, Indian Affairs allowed the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, to discharge thirteen-year-old Ronald Owl into the care of his grandmother. Ronald was judged to be "consistently rude to members of the Staff, and is well-known as a bully to smaller boys. He has been guilty of smoking in the dormitory, something most strictly forbidden because of danger of fire." In recent weeks, he had run away twice, and had been in trouble for "hitting a smaller boy and spitting in his face."[114] In another situation, Indian Affairs concluded in the spring of 1958 that it would be better to find a foster home for one boy from Prince Edward Island than to return him to the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school in the coming year.[115]

After the death of her brother, one girl ran away from the Gordon's school three times. Each time, she was accompanied by a different female student. According to the principal, the girl had made it clear that she wished to be at home with her family and to attend day school. By February of 1958, Principal J. J. Johnstone worried that one of her escape attempts would end in tragedy. For this reason, he recommended to Indian Affairs that the girl be transferred home and enrolled in a day school.[116] It appears the girl stayed at Gordon's for the rest of the school year, but the school refused to allow her to return in the following year.[117]

In 1959, the principal of the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school sought to expel two students who had a constant record of truancy. They had been warned and strapped—"within the instructions given by officers of the Department"—but there had been no improvement. To keep them in the school would, the principal said, require restrictions so strict "as to be against regulations of the Department, as also against fire protection [sic] regulations and those of common sense. The school cannot be a prison."[118] The principal's comments draw attention to a significant issue: the system, by its very coercive nature, generated a significant runaway problem.

The practice of discharging runaways continued into the 1960s. In October 1960, five children were discharged from the Protestant hostel in Whitehorse, Yukon, for running away. In most cases, letters were sent to their parents to the effect that they were not wanted, since they were "not interested in education." In one case, the letter was sent to the discharged student: a sixteen-year-old who was told, "So you have decided not to get an education, you will now have to look after yourself. You need not think that we will help you at home when you could be well fed and well clothed with good living conditions at the Protestant Hall."[119] The policy of the Roman Catholic Yukon Hostel was also to discharge all truants who were sixteen years of age or over.[120]

In 1960, Chilliwack, British Columbia, principal Allan Newman recommended that two fifteen-year-old boys be discharged. They had left the school and, using a stolen canoe, made their way home to Aiyansahit. The parents of one boy refused to force him to return to school, and Newman judged him to be "a trouble-maker" and a "bad influence on the younger boys." The other boy's parents wanted him to return to school,

boat, in the principal's view, he was a problem in the classroom, refusing "to do any work at all".[138]

On discharge, students might find themselves placed in orphanages, reformatories, or institutions for delinquent children. In 1895, Madawaska principal J. P. Mackey informed Indian Affairs that he was placing a student in the St. Patrick's Home for boys in Halifax. The boy came from Prince Edward Island, had run away twice in two days, and had put the school to considerable "trouble and expense," according to Mackey.[139] Since the cost of keeping the boy at the St. Patrick's Home was considerably more than keeping him at Madawaska (yet more evidence of the comparative underfunding of the residential system), Indian Affairs instead ordered that the boy be sent home.[140] Two years later, Mackey was trying to have another boy admitted to the St. Patrick's Home. The boy had organized two escapes from the school. For one escape, he had "made a key to fit all the doors, got up during the night, and visited the storerooms. He made a second key, unlocked the dormitory and outside doors, took the two younger boys with him as well as a supply of food and blankets." The boys were quickly picked up and returned to the school. The day before he was to be sent to St. Patrick's, he was locked into an upper-storey dormitory. According to Mackey, "He managed to get out the window by means of the fire hose, and at the present time, Mr. Rice, the s.c. men and all connected are scouring the neighborhood for him."[141]

In November 1895, four boys ran away from the Madawaska school. Three were quickly located and returned to the school, but the fourth made it to his home community at Plaster Landing, Nova Scotia. From there, he travelled with his older brother to Portland, Maine, where his father was working in a shipyard. While in Portland, he was located by the police and held in a parochial school. Madawaska principal J. W. Brown wanted him brought back and punished "for the principle of the thing" possibly by having placed in the St. Patrick's Home. Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan rejected the proposal, saying he could see no "particular advantage" in returning the boy to the school.[142] When the boy's sister ran away from the school a few months later, in February 1896, she was placed in the Halifax Good Shepherd Reformatory as a disciplinary measure. According to the Indian agent, "In the ordinary course of events she would have been dismissed from the school."[143]

Students could also be prosecuted for damaging property while they were away. Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school principal Lambrette prevented an runaway boys to the Mounted Police Headquarters in Fort Qu'Appelle in the fall of 1900. He said the boys had admitted to him that after they had run away from school, they had broken into a building in hopes of finding some food. Lambrette said the boys had agreed to pay the owner back. The police investigated and located the house and the owners, who declined to press charges.[144] In December 1898, two students from the Battle school were arrested by the same for car theft. Rather than their being sent to the Regina jail to await trial, the boys stayed at the Battle school. Principal N. W. Hayes wrote, "They

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

years after it had made its recommendation, no longer considered such a provision for school inspection by chief and council.

Twenty-nine students were drawn from the Stoney, Alberta, school in October 1907.[107] As well, in the first quarter of the 1908 school year, there were fifty truancy cases at the Hobbema school. By the end of March, all but five of these students were back in school. Since these five were all over fifteen years of age and the school was filled to capacity, the principal and the Indian agent had decided not to force them to return to school.[108]

In March of 1908, Indian agent J. E. Pugh prepared a report on truancy at the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Gleichen, Alberta. He noted that parents of students from the Blood Reserve were keeping their children out of the residential schools. One band councillor, for Bullshields, told him that "the reason it was so difficult to get the children into School, was, that the Indians looked upon the School as a penitentiary."[109] When Indian Affairs official C. A. J. Clark visited the Anglican school in Gleichen in 1908, he found that there were 92 students present in a school with an authorized enrolment of 200. He wrote, "There are children on the reserve enough to fill the school, which has three empty classrooms."[110] Clark attended a meeting of the Blood Band Council, where he was told parents were reluctant to send their children to the school because the principal was not a clergyman and was "rough" with the children, the students were not fed enough bread, and "the teachers are not very skilled [sic]." Clark told them that Pitts was an authorized lay reader in the Anglican Church, and an experienced teacher and principal. He also said he had reminded Pitts of the department's rules regarding discipline. He promised an increase in the bread ration and said that "Better teachers are in prospect."[111]

Indian Affairs official G. H. Gooderham conducted a follow-up visit. He said that the school was

> neither clean nor tidy and the principal was none too clean or tidy himself. He appears to be a pleasant enough young man but I was not very highly impressed. So far the teaching staff, three additional teachers have been families here at other institutions, two of them had at one time been at the Edmonton Residential School and Mr. Tinley had to be dismissed because they were incapable. Mr. Reed, an elderly gentleman, was at the Old Sun School at one time. He may have been a fairly good teacher at one time but his classroom was so untidy and so disorganized that I fear he is getting very poor results.

He noted that many parents were not sending their children to the school, and concluded that if Councillor Bullshields's negative assessments of the principal reflected "the opinion of the majority of Anglican members of the Band, then Mr. Pitts is a failure and should be replaced."[112] It was not until 1910, in the wake of continuing criticisms, that Pitts resigned his position at the school.[113]

In defending himself against allegations from Pitts that local Indian Affairs staff had not done enough to ensure that truant students were forced to attend school, Indian agent Ralph Ragan painted a picture of the process by which Indian Affairs rounded up students who did not report to school. In late November, Ragan wrote:

> We have our Indian Scout, Rufus Good Striker, out since September bringing in truants to St. Paul's [the Anglican school in Cardston], and working alone and among his own people he has done a fair job. Due to a shortage of staff here and the largest and most cumbersome harvest on the Reserve this year with its terrific accounting problems due to the wheat quota, Mr. Pitts had been advised that some staff could not be spared for truants until this was finalized. On November 10th we saw daylight ahead and in a letter to Mr. Goodchum designated the week of November 17th for an all out drive on truants with all trucks and staff that could be spared. The Superintendent's car and two light delivery trucks with five members of the staff were out beginning the 17th.[174]

In October 1953, parents from the Whitefog Reserve in northwestern Ontario backed up their argument for a day school as an alternative to the Presbyterian school in Kenora with complaints about the "ill treatment of our children" at the school. "They are locked up for punishment and they hate that so much that they run away very frequently which places them in great danger of accidents before they finally reach their homes."[175]

Government officials sometimes seemed unable to understand why parents did not want to send their children to school. In 1958, Norman Paterson, the superintendent for the Kenora Indian Agency, wrote that he had "persistently and patiently tried to get from the Chief and Councillors some valid reason" as to why parents at the Whitefog Reserve were not enrolling their children in residential school. He thought the reason may have been that a number of children who ran away from schools in Kenora "had met with difficulties getting back to the Reserve," including, as in the case previously noted, the runaway student who was so severely frozen that he had to have his leg amputated. Paterson does not appear to have viewed these "difficulties" as a "valid" reason for parents to withhold their children from the school.[176]

Not surprisingly, the school in northwestern Ontario had problems with recruitment as well as with runaways. In the fall of 1953, sixty-three students were truant from the Presbyterian school in Kenora. Some of them had not been to school in two or three years.[177] By November, there were still at least fourteen students not in attendance.[178]

The legal authority to keep students in school

Since the 1880s, Indian Affairs had been refusing to allow parents to withdraw children after voluntarily enrolling them, on the basis of the consent form that was signed at the time of admission. In the 1950s, the form said the student would remain in the school "for such term as the Minister of Mines and Resources may deem proper."[179] However, in 1952, the department discovered that the form had no legal standing. The issue arose when an eight-year-old girl left the Squamish, British Columbia, school and returned to her father's home. She continued to attend the school as a day student. Indian Affairs concluded that she was "running around the Mission Reserve till all hours of the night owing to the lack of proper home supervision." It sought to have the Mounted Police prosecute her father under Section 118 of the *Indian Act*. That section made it an offence to ignore an order to "cause the child to attend school." The Indian Affairs case was complicated by the fact that the girl was, in fact, attending school. It rested its argument that she be returned to the residential school on the fact that when the girl had been enrolled in school, her father had agreed that she should remain in school until the minister deemed it proper that she be discharged.[180]

However, an Indian Affairs legal adviser pointed to an 1892 Justice Department legal opinion that the provisions in admission forms lacked any legal basis. The father could not be prosecuted under the *Indian Act*, unless the minister responsible for Indian Affairs were to specifically designate that she attend the residential school, a power that was provided for in Section 117 of the *Indian Act*.[181] The immediate situation was resolved by the girl's return to the residential school.[182] However, Indian Affairs officials were left with the uncomfortable realization that the admission form, which had long served as the basis of their truancy policy, had no legal standing. As the Indian commissioner for British Columbia, W. S. Arneil, wrote, "It seems, therefore, that no action can be taken to return a child to a residential school unless the Minister specifically designates the school as the one the child should attend."[183] Despite this realization, no amendments were made to the *Indian Act* to address this issue.

The increase in the number of day schools, coupled with the continued closing of residential schools, appears to have reduced the recruitment problem. But it did not eliminate it. By mid-September of 1960, ten children from the Yukon had not shown up at the Lower Post, British Columbia, school.[184] In 1972, thirteen students did not return to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, residence after the Easter holiday. Some were working, some were attending day school, and some were simply not coming back.[185]

"Attempts to locate her were fruitless": The lost and the missing

In many cases, it appears that runaway children were never located or returned to school. The fragmentary nature of the records often makes it difficult to make a final determination as to any specific child's fate. Sometimes, the records documenting their return are missing. It is also possible that records indicating that the child died while running away might also be missing. Some deaths generated follow-up investigations, but others went almost unreported. Some of these children may have made it home, some may have moved to urban communities, and some died trying to reach home. At greatest risk were those children who had no home to which to return. Although no statistical trend can be identified, the records provide partial details of a number of disturbing cases from the late 1950s and 1960s.

In 1957, Indian Affairs official N. Ogrady reported that a girl had been truant from the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school for "two weeks or so." Ogrady said he had recently received information that she might be with her mother, who was working in Lipton, Saskatchewan.[186] The record does not make it clear whether the girl was at home, but her mother was instructed to return her to the school or, if she was aware of the girl's whereabouts, to inform the school.[187] Two girls ran away from the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, in November 1957.[188] They still had not been located by February of the following year. At that time, the school vice-principal informed the Mounted Police that he did not wish to see them returned to the school.[189] The police eventually located them in March: one girl was living with her mother; the other was living in the Picture Butte district of Alberta. It does not appear that the police returned either girl to school.[190]

On May 26, 1960, a female student had been absent from the Qu'Appelle school for four days. It was only then that the school principal wrote to the Indian agent responsible for her home reserve. Rather than notifying the agent of a need to search for the girl, the principal's message was that, if found, the girl should not be returned to his school.[191] (She apparently was located and admitted to the school in the fall of 1961.)[192]

Three girls ran away from the Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, school on October 31, 1967. Two of them were quickly found, but, a week after they had run away, the third girl had yet to be located.[193] The record shows that she was suspended from the school for running away, even though they didn't know where she was.[194]

In a number of cases, the students directly defied orders to return to school. In November 1967, the principal of the Roman Catholic residence in Whitehorse, Yukon, was reporting that a girl who had had a hard time adjusting to residence life had run away. When school officials encountered her in the community, she refused to return to the residence.[195] On November 25, 1967, a girl ran away from the same residence. She had not been located by November 28.[196] Both students were listed in the quarterly

report issued at the end of December 1967 as having left the residence.[197] In late 1971, one of the supervisors at Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, encountered a student on the street during school hours. According to the supervisor, "When asked if he should not be in school he stated Yes that he should be in shop but that he did not attend classes if he did not feel like doing so." The superintendent of the residence, A. J. Boxer, said that residence staff had the "impression that others have this attitude."[198]

Five girls ran away from the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school in February 1968. Although the RCMP was involved in the search for them, they were not returned to the school during that school year.[199] Two of the girls were teenaged sisters: they had been placed in the school after their father had murdered their mother. In the fall of 1968, the older girl was placed in the Assiniboia school in Winnipeg. After two weeks, she ran away. According to the Indian Affairs district superintendent of schools, G. T. Ross, "Attempts to locate her were fruitless. We know at present she is in Winnipeg but does not remain long in one place." Her younger sister had been returned to the Fort Alexander school. However, she did not remain in the residence and was reported to have "roamed the reserve." At the band council's recommendation, the residence administrator transferred her to Winnipeg. According to Ross, in December 1968, she was "at present somewhere in Winnipeg." She was thought to be in the company of a third teenaged girl, who was also truant from Fort Alexander. Ross believed all three girls were "subject to physical danger while wandering the streets."[200] In its review of the documents, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was not able to find any records indicating that the girls were ever located. In November 1969, another female student did not return to the same residence. She was located by the police, and flown to her home community.[201]

Roland Chaput, the principal of the Assiniboia school, waited for eight days before writing to parents from South Indian Lake to inform them that their eighteen-year-old son had left the residence in March 1968. According to Chaput, "He left here without saying a word as if he were going to school that day and we have not seen him since." He said that Indian Affairs had been informed of the boy's disappearance.[202]

On November 29, 1968, a boy had run away from the Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, school. By December 4, he had not returned.[203] It is unclear what happened to him. Although he was listed on the December 1968 quarterly return, he was omitted from the March 1969 return.[204]

One female student discharged herself from the Prince George, British Columbia, hospital on November 26, 1971, after undergoing an ear operation. The police and her family were informed of her disappearance. However, she did not return to the school until December 16.[205]

Two fourteen-year-old girls had been missing from the Presbyterian school in Kenora for two weeks on 24 January 1975.[206] One of the girls was an orphan: her mother

had died of alcohol poisoning in 1970 and her father had committed suicide two years earlier.[207] In its review of the documents, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was not able to locate any record of one of the girls on any attendance records after the date of her leaving the residence. The last reference to the other girl was an enrolment listing for the first quarter of 1976—but it gives no indication of the number of days she had attended in that term.[208]

A system as poorly funded and supervised as Canada's residential school system for Aboriginal children was bound to lead to tragedy. It was bound to drive many students to run away. It was also bound to lead many parents to stop sending their children to school. Poorly trained and poorly paid staff, hired in insufficient numbers, inevitably would not be able to find and return all runaways before tragedy struck. These were the same lessons as from the first half-century of the residential school system. They were clearly apparent in 1939. The scandalous fact is that during the following half-century, residential school children, far too often, were the victims of an unnecessary repetition of devastating history.

CHAPTER 40

Discipline: 1940–2000

In the 1960s, Indian Affairs asked a number of former students to prepare comments on their time at residential school. The response of two men highlighted the abusive nature of discipline at the schools. A former student of the Birtle and Brandon schools in Manitoba wrote that among the disciplinary measures that he could recall being imposed at those schools were "being tied to a flag pole, sent to bed with no food, literally beaten and slapped by staff." Students were "locked in at night like cattle." It was, he wrote, "an insult to human dignity."[1]

Of the discipline at the Mohawk Institute in Ontario during the 1940s, a second former student, Russell Moses, wrote, "I have seen Indian children having their faces rubbed in human excrement, this was done by a gentleman who has now gone to his just reward." Children who ran away were

> brought back to face the music—we had a form of running the gauntlet in which the offender had to go through the line, that is on his hands and knees, through widespread legs of all the boys and he would be struck with anything that was at hand all this done under the fatherly supervision of the boys' master. I have seen boys after going through a line of fifty to seventy boys lay crying in the most abject human misery and pain with not a soul to care—the dignity of man!!![2]

The memories of these two former students are consistent with the statements that former students have provided to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada since it began its work in 2009. For example, Edmund Metatawabin said that within minutes of his arrival at the Fort Albany, Ontario, school, "I got my first taste of being slapped by the nun, who was our supervisor. I think I was only six years old. I was slapped so hard that I hit the wall and bounced off the wall, and with insults from the supervisor all along."[3] Flora Moore said she was punished for playing around in the lineup to go into the Mohawk Institute lunchroom.

> That guy picked me up on the back of my neck, he kicked my butt, and then he took me to the room, and I don't know what happened out there, but all I know was I had strap marks on my body, and my hands were blistered, really badly blistered that I couldn't use them, I couldn't write for a couple of days. Nobody

> cared enough to really see my hands because I used to hide them. I never told anybody, so I kept it to myself, and all that. I used to soak them in cold water. I took care of myself.

The punishment left her frightened and anxious for the rest of the year.

> It first, first time my physical abuse was there. Physical abuse that my mom, my parents never, never treated me like that, you know. That's the first I ever encountered physical abuse. That was very painful. And I could never sleep after that. I had enough and never could sleep good after that. That whole year that I had to go back, that bothered me constantly what happened.[4]

For so many students, residential school discipline was harsh and unregulated; the line between corporal punishment and physical abuse was too easily crossed. The documentary record demonstrates the federal government's failure to develop and enforce appropriate disciplinary standards. It is sometimes argued that the discipline at the schools did not exceed the "standards of the day." As the following pages will show, Indian Affairs set few standards in regard to discipline. Those that it did set were often reactive, created only in response to what was seen as excessively punitive discipline. In addition, Indian Affairs did not inadequately communicate those standards that did exist, ensure that they were enforced, or take action when they were violated.

The failure to develop and enforce a disciplinary policy

In 1940, a member of the Islington Band in Ontario took his son to Kenora Indian agent Frank Edwards. The boy had run away from the Presbyterian school in the community after the boys' supervisor at the school had thrown a stone at him that had hit him in the head. Edwards took the boy and his father to the school and met with the supervisor. The man acknowledged that he had hit the boy in the head with a stone. He said he had done so because the boy had refused to obey an instruction to stop throwing stones. According to the agent, while he was reprimanding this employee for his action, the principal, E. W. Byers, angrily approached and told him that every time he came to the school, "there was always trouble, and he would not stand for it, and I should not listen to the Indians or pupils when they came to me with their troubles." The principal had been dismissed recently and was concluding his term of office. He claimed that the agent was undermining school discipline.[5] The incident brings many of the key disciplinary issues of the period into focus. Who was allowed to discipline students? What measures were they allowed to use? How were the rules communicated to students and to parents? And, what role did Indian Affairs have in regulating discipline at the schools? As the following section demonstrates, Indian Affairs was

slow in answering the first two questions, and inactive in enforcing those rules that it did develop.

The search for policy: 1900–1969

The Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training, R. A. Hoey, had written in 1937 that a circular on discipline had been sent out to school principals, stating that "corporal punishment should only be administered by a member of the staff, in the presence of the Principal."[1] None of the extensive correspondence dealing with discipline in the early 1940s makes reference to this or any other disciplinary guidelines issued by Indian Affairs. Neither does there appear to be any attempt to enforce such a rule. The first Indian Affairs guidelines on discipline that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was able to locate were issued ten years later, in 1947.[2] It was clear long before then that such guidelines were needed.

Cecil Perkins, a former employee of the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, wrote Indian Affairs in June 1940 to report on two acts of discipline that he had observed at the school. In one case, the school farmer, Ray Carter, angered because the boys had been slow to assemble for evening prayers, had swung his fist at one of the boys. According to Perkins, "The boy dodged the blow and had the blow landed it could easily have seriously injured the boy." The boy attempted to hide from Carter, but Carter tracked him down and, according to Perkins, "proceeded to administer a serious thrashing. This was done with a section or piece of harness trace after the boy had been made to take down his pants. This is the common form of punishment employed in the school to wards [sic] the boys." On another occasion, Perkins said, a number of boys had been ordered to eat half a cake of soap as a punishment for swearing. Perkins said that he had been warned not to raise these issues with Indian Affairs, since "others had tried it and only made more trouble for themselves."[3] The school principal, R. C. Scott, said he was aware of Carter's having "made a 'slap'" at one of the students. Scott said he had told Carter "there should be no more such occurrences." Scott denied that students were made to eat soap—although he did say, "On a very few occasions boys have been advised, after using bad language [sic], that they ought to 'washout [sic] their mouths.'"[4] For his part, Carter said that when the boys were being called in for prayers, one of the boys had been making noise and mimicking him. "I told Joe if he would not keep quiet, I should have to take measures to make him keep quiet. He said, 'Do you think you can do it?' I said, 'Yes,' and then I slapped at him." The boy dodged the blow and Carter fell on his hands. He later made the boy take down his pants and administered "six straps on his seat." He said he had the permission of the acting principal to administer the punishment.[5]

Indian Affairs official G. H. Barry conducted an investigation into the charges. The inquiry was limited to taking statements from school staff members. Barry did not speak to students or to Perkins, the employee who had raised the concerns. He concluded that "there has been no ill-treatment whatever of the boys as alleged." Instead, he believed that Perkins's charges were "a very highly exaggerated account of two or three instances that undoubtedly happened during the time he was at the Qu'Appelle Industrial School." Despite his conclusions, his recommendations do imply that there were problems at the school. Specifically, he advised the principal that

> it would be well in future to limit the infliction of corporal punishment by requiring that definite permission must first be obtained, either from him as Principal or in his absence from the Acting Principal of the School.
>
> I would further advise that in future any such corporal punishment be given with a regulation school strap made of rubber. The actual strap used for years at this School was specially made for the purpose; is not part of a harness strap as suggested, but is, in my opinion, rather too thick, especially for punishment of the smaller boys.[1]

The fact that, in providing this advice, Barry made no reference to any Indian Affairs policy on discipline is further evidence that there was no uniform written policy in existence.

Not all cases of excessive discipline were addressed. In January 1941, Indian agent G. C. Leight received a telephone call from Leo Bertrand, saying that his son Fred and two friends were at his house, having run away from the St. Albert, Alberta, school. When Leight asked Bertrand to return the boys, Bertrand said that his son had run away because the boys' master had tried to choke him. Leight asked Bertrand to meet him at the school later that day with the boys, in the presence of the principal. Master Ian Sutherland, and the boys' master, Tony Beaster. Fred Bertrand said that Beaster had grabbed him by the throat with both hands and lifted him into the air. One of the other boys said he had witnessed the incident when both Fred Bertrand and another boy. All three boys gave the choking as the reason for their decision to run away. Two other boys were called, who also said they had witnessed the assault. Beaster initially said that he had grabbed one of the boys by the neck when he was running away, but later admitted that this was not the case. Leight told Beaster that the department had no objections to "properly administered" punishment, but "could not tolerate" the punishment Beaster had given.[2] After the investigation, Beaster was dismissed.[3]

The parents of at least three students swore statements in 1941, protesting the harshness of Principal Oliver Strapp's regime at the Shoal Light school in Ontario. Lorraine Trembaley's mother, Jessie Seneca, had been told by her daughter that "when Mr. Strapp would punish the girls he would raise their shirts when whipping them." Lorraine said that a punishment from Strapp had left a scar on her arm.[4] After also

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

had urged Marshall to write a report on the incident. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was not able to locate this report—if it was ever written—in the documents that it reviewed.[47]

In 1987, a student named Loretta Moreve wrote a letter of complaint about the discipline at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school. That morning, she said, the cook "had taken a big paddle and started to beat me up. He was really made [sic] at us they just pick on us. He just kept on hitting me all over he hit me on my arm and it was all swollen [sic]."[48] A few weeks later, a boy ran away.[49] The school was on the verge of disaster, having started the school year lacking five teachers.[50] As worries mounted in Aboriginal communities about their children, the principal, S. J. Wilkens, telegraphed the Indian agent, asking that he tell students' relatives to "stay away from school as visits disturb now."[51]

The principal resigned in the fall.[52] Indian Affairs official J. Coleman visited the school and prepared a highly critical report on its operations. On the question of the original complaint that the cook had beaten a girl, Coleman concluded that the cook may have struck some students "in exasperation with a wooden spoon," although he did not believe the cook "would have been excessive in the matter." The willingness to excuse this inappropriate behaviour captures much that was wrong with Indian Affairs' approach to discipline. Coleman was more disturbed by other reports of Wilkens's use of corporal punishment. He said that two boys were subjected to corporal punishment for being noisy during the evening meal. In one case, the punishment was so severe that a cushion (an abscess similar to a boil) on one boy's abdomen had burst. Overall, he thought Wilkens's approach to discipline was "alternatively harsh and weak."[53] Again, there was no attempt to determine if any disciplinary policies had been violated.

Procedural politics

A conflict at the United Church's Morley, Alberta, school in the 1980s led to the development of a set of departmental rules on discipline. In the fall of 1986, Moses Wesley attempted to withdraw his daughter Rosie from the school. He was angered by the treatment she had been given for running away. According to Rosie, she had been strapped "over the body and shoulders and over the head." The school matron, Eleanor Hodgson, acknowledged that she had strapped Rosie, but denied strapping her on the head and shoulders.[54]

Wesley's complaints were echoed by other parents. In January 1987, G. H. Gooderham, the local inspector of Indian agencies, met with the band councillors and interested parents. They told him of their dissatisfaction with the way children were disciplined, the food at the school, the clothing provided, the lack of time spent in the

classroom, and the health and cleanliness of the students. Gooderham reported that he assured the parents that corporal punishment "was always frowned upon by the Department." He said he would ask the principal to defer such punishment until discussing the matter with the parent.[37] The former principal, who was by then principal of the Edmonton school, believed the current matron's approach to discipline had created a significant problem at the school, and he recommended that she be replaced.[38]

Upon review of the correspondence, Bernard F. Neary, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, concluded that the situation at the Morley school "has been unsatisfactory since the opening of the new term." In response, he drew up instructions regarding punishment (which he referred to in his memorandum as "capital punishment"), noting, "I can find on file no instance of similar regulations having been prepared."[39]

Neary developed the following rules.

1. That corporal punishment will be used only where all other methods of disciplining a pupil have failed.

2. That corporal punishment will be administered only on the hands with a proper school strap (regulation 15" rubber).

3. That the maximum number of strokes on each hand in no instance exceed four in number for male pupils of over fourteen years of age and in proportion for boys under that age.

4. That all such corporal punishment be administered in the presence of the principal or by the principal.

5. That a Corporal Punishment Register be maintained at the school containing the following headings:

   a. Date.

   b. Reasons for Punishment.

   c. By whom administered.

   d. Witness.

   e. Signature of pupil punished.

6. That this Register be made available for inspection by all Indian Affairs Branch officials visiting the above.[40]

He sent a copy of these rules to George Dorey, the secretary of the United Church's Board of Home Missions. Dorey, in turn, sent the rules to the principal, along with a letter stating, "With regard to the suggestions in the Department's letter about

corporal punishment it would be my hope that you would see your way clear to adopting them completely."[49]

Once again, Indian Affairs was responding in a piecemeal fashion. The rules were not sent directly to all principals, but, instead, to the head of one missionary association. He, in turn, did not instruct all his principals to abide by them. Instead, he simply urged one principal to do so. Further, as would be noted by others, these rules were incomplete, applying, for instance, only to boys. They did not address other forms of punishment such as the denial of meals or the cropping of hair.

In dealing with the situation at the Morley school, Neary also recommended that the matron be dismissed in an effort to "eliminate some of the difficulty."[50] Principal G. R. Inglis opposed this recommendation, saying that "an injustice has been done a very faithful worker."[51] The matron was not dismissed. Dorey defended her, saying, "One of the things we shall have to do is to try to get certified teachers to go to Morley, as the teaching staff is weak, and this has thrown a great deal of work on Miss Hodgson."[52]

The Morley school continued to be an ongoing subject of discontent. At a Stoney Band Council meeting in November 1947, Chief Enos Hunter said that "the present school system was jail more or less and that the children only received half a days [sic] education."[53] A year later, the band council objected to the continued employment of Hodgson as matron.[54]

While it is not clear how wide a circulation had been given to the rules of discipline that Neary had developed for the Morley school, it is apparent that by 1949, some Indian Affairs officials were attempting to enforce the rules. In June 1949, Indian Affairs official C. A. F. Clark informed Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, principal A. J. W. Scrase that he had noticed that one of the teachers in his school kept a leather strap on her desk. He pointed out that a regulation strap should be kept in the principal's office and used only "by the Principal or in his presence."[55] Later that year, when he visited the Anglican school near Cardston, Alberta, Clark explained "the rules regarding corporal punishment" and took two straps away from teachers, depositing them in the principal's office.[56]

Events at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school in 1949 make it clear that the rules on discipline had not been universally disseminated. Neither were they being followed. As described previously in the chapter on truancy, in January 1949, four girls ran away from the Portage la Prairie school. While they were following a riverbank, their feet became wet. By the time they took refuge in a home, their feet were frozen.[57] The damage was so severe that the girls had to be hospitalized for several weeks and it was feared some of them might lose some of their toes.[58] Indian Affairs official A. G. Hamilton conducted an investigation into the conditions that caused the girls to run away.[59] The statements that he took constitute some of the most detailed student comments on life and discipline in the schools during this period. One of the girls, Lillian Daniels, told the investigator,

> I am 15 years of age. We wrote to Winnipeg and requested messages for our parents over the air, a week before we ran away, and wanted to listen to them Saturday afternoon. We asked Miss Quinn if we could listen to the program and told her that we had sent in requests and wanted to listen to them. She told us to go outside that she didn't want us to listen to the radio. She made us go outside and locked the door. We got together and decided to run away and see our parents.
>
> She always hits us on the head with her fist. She makes us wear boy's [sic] boots. She doesn't like us to put our hair up in the way we want to. We are just allowed five minutes to do our hair and if we are longer she makes us sit in a corner. (This is Mrs. Ross who does this) All the other teacher's [sic] are nice to us. We are sent to Mr. Jones by Mrs. Ross to get the strap when we talk at the table at mealtime. We are locked in our dormitories at night. We do not like to be locked up all the time. Mrs. Ross does not allow us to see our cousins or brothers or speak to them. We only can speak to them when we see them when no one is aroung [sic].
>
> I do not want to go back to the school.[79]

Twelve-year-old Pearl Woods explained that she had submitted some messages to family members to a local radio station. She had expected they would be broadcast on Saturday afternoon.

> We asked Miss Quinn if we could listen to them. Miss Quinn said we could but Mrs. Ross came and said we couldn't. Mrs. Ross sent us out to play. Then we planned to run away and tell our parents about it.
>
> Mrs. Ross hits us on the head with her fists. If we are scrubbing she stands there with a stick or strap in her hand. At night when she is on duty she just gives us five minutes to do our hair. If we do not get it done in that time she puts all the lights out and makes us sit in the play room for two or three hours. If we lay down on the benches when we are there she comes down and tells us to sit up. Mrs. Ross does not let us sit beside each other when we are in the play room. She makes us wear boy's [sic] running shoes if our shoes are worn out, even if they are too big. If we tear our nightgowns she makes us wear boy's [sic] clothes. She locks the dormitories when we go to bed. The washroom downstairs is also locked. When we want to go to the bathroom she won't let us. She sends us out and locks the door. She doesn't let us in until quarter to six except the girls who go on duty in the kitchen at five.
>
> If we want to go to the sewing room she doesn't let us go through the hall. If we do she hits us on the head with her fists. If we do not curl our hair at night sometimes she tries to cut it off.
>
> When we write letters, Mr. Jones reads them and if we get some he also reads them. Mrs. Ross always gives us short stockings up to our knees and we have to wear them. She never wants to change them. Sometimes if our shoes are worn

> out she lets us sew them. She doesn't let us wear sweaters when it is cold. If we do, she tells us to take them off.
>
> She grabs us by the hair and shakes us. If she sees us smiling at the table she thinks we are talking and hits us on the head with anything she can get hold of. She gives us bags to put our clothes in and if she sees our clothes lying around she straps us.
>
> Mrs. Ross teases the girls and if they get mad she takes them in the hall and straps them. Mrs. Ross always talks about our own people and we do not like that. She talks about them to the staff.
>
> She doesn't let us talk to our brothers in the building. We can just talk to them when we go out to skate. If she sees us talking to the boys in the rink she sends them away. If we stand aroung [sic] she sends us out to our own playgroung [sic]. [71]

Ella Bell, a fourteen-year-old student who did not run away, wrote, "Mrs. Ross scolds me and strapped me about twice." She pointed out that the dormitory door was locked at night, and the "girls who have brothers or relatives in the school cannot speak to them without getting permission."[72]

According to the principal, Joseph Jones, the students ran away because they had been compelled to go outside and exercise, rather than "listen to a foolish cowboy program."[73] Mrs. Ross said that she "strapped them occasionally," "sometimes hits girls on the head with my knuckles," and "sometimes give their hair a pull but do not think I hurt them at all."[74] The principal said they were given more than five minutes a night to fix their hair, although it was necessary to place a time limit on the activity. As to sending the children outside, he said that it was necessary that they get fresh air. Given the cost of shoes, it was necessary to pass on the boys' shoes to girls in some cases.[75] Additionally, he claimed Indian Affairs had undermined his authority at the school in the previous year when it had prevented him from cutting off a girl's hair as punishment for running away. Indian Affairs inspector A. G. Hamilton had told him that "the department would object to this form of punishment."[76] After an initial investigation, Indian Affairs sent the principal a letter outlining the same disciplinary rules that Neary had sent to the principal of the Morley, Alberta, school two years earlier.[77]

Jones responded by providing Indian Affairs with a detailed critique of Neary's rules. He said that the rule that limited the number of strokes of the strap that could be administered could be "inadequate to the offence," giving as an example a case at the Portage school, where an older boy gave a younger student "a smashing blow on the bridge of his nose." He also pointed out that this rule referred only to boys, asking if this meant the department was prohibiting corporal punishment in the case of female students "to girls of any age for any offence whatever." While agreeing to the rule that called for the creation of a disciplinary record, he asked, "Is such register kept in other

schools?" He also said he assumed that the department was leaving "all other methods" to the discretion of the principal, pointing out that it was the custom in many schools to "'bob' the hair of any girl who runs away from school."[78]

Jones defended the policy of demanding silence during meals, saying it was a common practice in construction, lumber, and fishing camps. The school had a rigid timetable to maintain, and talking at mealtime would cut into the time set aside for washing the dishes and cleaning the dining room. He said that a policy of silence also made it easier for teachers who might otherwise have problems in maintaining order. He also said the boys preferred the policy: if the girls were allowed to talk, they would prolong the meal period, making it difficult for the boys to get to their games.[79]

Statements from two school employees confirmed that the girls were correct in saying that the dormitories were locked at night.[80] This would have created a serious risk in the event of fire.

The regional supervisor of Indian agencies, R. S. Davis, reported that "apparently everyone is strapping these children, with the exception of the boys' supervisor." He noted that there was no record being kept of when students were punished, and instructed the principal to establish such a book. Overall, he felt the institution more closely resembled a "detention home than a boarding school."[81] He said he thought the principal had "been running this school to suit himself for a number of years, and in my opinion, the sooner we get rid of him the better."[82] By May, Principal Jones had resigned.[83]

There were other attempts to enforce Neary's rules. Indian Affairs official G. H. Gooderham wrote to Gleichen, Alberta, principal E. S. W. Cole in 1950 to express his concern over reports that the girls' supervisor at the school had been administering corporal punishment in violation of government regulations. He stated that another department official, W. P. B. Pugh, had informed him that this was not the first such complaint made against the supervisor (whose name was given as both Vera De Gerr and Vera De Geer).[84] Principal Cole defended the matron. While he admitted that "occasionally her methods of getting discipline are strict," he said she maintained "excellent discipline." Despite this, or perhaps because of it,

> it seems that a group of the senior girls do not like her and they have literally 'ganged' up against her. One of my grade X students has reported that, in her opinion, the girls have talked so much together about the little corrections meted out that they have been grossly exaggerated, and, in fact, new complaints have been imagined so realistically that they are now believed.[85]

Under Gooderham's direction, local Indian Affairs superintendent W. P. B. Pugh conducted an investigation. The main complainant was not able to provide him with "definite complaints about corporal punishment being given by Miss De Geer." Although the investigation did not unearth specific complaints, Pugh concluded

"there is no doubt Miss De Geer will be moved in due course. He [Principal Cole] did not feel like dismissing her summarily."[85] As in other instances, even when there was a decision to act on parental complaints, it would appear that action was delayed to ensure that parents did not have a sense of victory.

In 1952, a former teacher at the Lytton, British Columbia, school wrote a letter to Indian Affairs, complaining of the school's disciplinary regime. She wrote, "Children's faces are slapped, hit on the head, struck across the nose—causing nose bleeds. This is done by the principal's daughter and son-in-law (Mr. and Mrs. Purvis). Therefore no redress made by the principal."[87]

In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was not able to locate a copy of the report of the investigation that was ordered into these allegations. Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey did write at the time, "For the last year or two I have not been happy about the operation of this school."[88]

When two staff members of the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school resigned in 1952, they complained of

> a manifest lack of discipline for the students as well as the staff, resulting in a lack of respect for the staff, promiscuous play between the sexes and unhealthful living conditions. The staff has no conception of preventative discipline. Children are allowed to run wild until whipping is the only means of discipline possible. This was forcibly illustrated when three small boys tried to run away. They were picked up and thrown into prison for one week. The prison consits [sic] of a small space partitioned off in the hut used as a hospital. The top two feet of the walls are made of chicken wire so that the inmates are exposed to any disease current in the hospital. At one stage during their confinement they were properly switched for the benefit of the entire school.

The two former employees, Victoria Ketcheson and Patricia Watson, sent copies of their letter to senior Anglican Church officials.[89] The principal rejected their criticisms, intimating that the women may have been considering converting to Catholicism. Fifty staff members signed a petition expressing their confidence in the principal.[90] One unsigned letter defending the principal noted that the room described as a jail had been used in the past by teachers and even the principal as a residence. The writer did, however, acknowledge that the runaway boys had been "spanked with a willow in front of all the children."[91]

The Anglican Church authorized an investigation into the complaints, but the head of the Anglican Indian School Administration noted that he believed the women were "insufficiently experienced to make the charges that they have."[92] In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could not locate any copies of an investigation report. Neither does it appear that the complaints or resignations were reported to Indian Affairs.

A policy at last

On April 14, 1953, Philip Phelan, the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, sent out a "statement of policy regarding school discipline, with particular reference to corporal punishment at Indian schools." The key points read as follows:

> Any form of punishment tending to humiliate a pupil is to be avoided. This policy applies alike to the use of sarcasm or to the employment of practices calculated to produce distinctive changes in appearance or dress.
>
> It is generally approved practice for teachers to abstain from physical contacts with pupils either in anger or affection. Children's reports of such contacts have sometimes been so exaggerated as to make the teacher's position untenable.
>
> In any event there must be no corporal punishment of a pupil who is suspected to be suffering from any physical or mental ailment which corporal punishment may aggravate.
>
> Before resorting to the use of corporal punishment, the principal or the teacher in charge must be convinced that no other approved form of punishment will have the necessary punitive and corrective effects. The educator must be sure that the pupil was aware of doing wrong. The presence of such a factor as premeditation, deliberate repetition or heedlessness of consequences may sometimes justify a more serious view and the use of corporal punishment.
>
> The principal or teacher in charge of a school will decide whether corporal punishment is to be used and will personally administer it in the presence of a witness at a time selected to avoid disturbing the school programme. The witness should be a staff member of the same sex as the pupil who is to be punished; the matron at a residential school should witness the corporal punishment of a girl. Only the strap as issued to the principal or teacher in charge will be used. It will be applied only to the palm of the hand.
>
> In a special book reserved for the purpose a record will be kept of every occasion of corporal punishment. This record will show the date, the name of the pupil, a description of the offence, the number of strokes on either hand, and will be signed by the person who used the strap and by the witness.[11]

The rule relating to changes in appearance should have banned the cropping of hair. The other rules should have ensured that only the principal or the teacher in charge of the school administered corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was to take the form of strapping on the palm of the hand, delivered in front of a witness of the same sex as the student being strapped. Since humiliation was to be avoided, students were not to be strapped in public. No limits were placed on the number of strokes that could be administered when a student was strapped. These, at least, were the rules.

This is the first set of disciplinary regulations developed by Indian Affairs that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada is certain were widely distributed within the residential school system. They were, for example, included in the 1958 Indian Affairs field manual.[32]

However, these rules had no legal force. Those rules that did have legal force, the *Regulations with Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools* developed under the *Indian Act* in 1933, had little to say about discipline. Principals were to assume the "responsibilities of parents or guardians with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge." Students were to "conform to the rules for the conduct and behaviour of pupils while on or near the school premises or any premises where any activity of the school is taking place."[33]

There is no overall survey of the use of corporal punishment in Canadian schools during this period. However, there are reports from various school divisions. In 1949, for example, of the forty students who were strapped at one Toronto school in that school year, twenty received six strokes, nine received eight strokes, and one received ten strokes.[34] In Toronto, the strap was used to punish truancy, lying, fighting, disobedience, smoking, and continuing misconduct.[35] By the 1950s in Toronto, strappings had to be administered only on the hands, using a school board–supplied strap, and in the presence of a second teacher or the principal.[36] A December 1951 report by the Calgary school board reported that in the first three months of the 1951–52 school year, corporal punishment had been exercised on 440 occasions (326 of the cases involved elementary school students, 68 involved junior high students, and 4 cases involved high school students). The number of strokes per hand was usually one or two. There was one case in which six strokes were administered, and five cases in which four strokes were administered. At the time, there were 16,000 students in the Calgary school system.[37]

Failure to enforce

In October 1953, the effectiveness of Phelan's rules underwent their first test. That fall, a father laid a complaint before the local justice of the peace about the treatment his sons had received when they tried to run away from the Birtle, Manitoba, school. He said that Principal N. W. Hanson had strapped Ralph and Robert Deardrall on the buttocks.[38] The principal said the boys were strapped for attempting to run away; their mother said they were punished for throwing water on another student. Indian Affairs official G. H. Manwaring spoke to the parents, one of the boys, the principal, a police officer, and a doctor named Bjornsson. The parents said the beating had left marks on the boys' genitals, while the doctor and police officer said that the marks were limited to the backs of their legs and buttocks. Manwaring wrote, "Mr. Hanson may have

[illegible] strapped the mark a little but I believe his story that the boys were running away and he said he had to make an example of them." Attempts to find out more were unsuccessful. [illegible] Indian Superintendent of Education H. J. Hawry asked for a copy of the discipline register dealing with the event. It read: "strapping on right of hand/seven cuts, effective strapped masonry at 8:30 p.m." In Hawry penned out in a letter to a Manitoba teacher, Hilaire called, neither the "manner of administering the punishment nor the report of the occasion" conformed with the recently released regulations.[34] Neither in fact, did they comply with the less demanding 1907 instructions issued by Hawry. While the investigation was going on, Hawry wrote to the justice of the peace who was responsible for the case that this was the first such complaint against the principal.[35]

Even through humiliating punishments, and strapping on any part of the body other than the hands, were officially prohibited, it is clear that many principals viewed them as being effective tools. In an address, "The Psychology of the Indian Residential School Pupil," at the 1933 conference of residential school principals, Lytton, British Columbia, principal C. J. Hives said he had used the strap on average twice a year. However, he told the audience that in 1931, his first year as Lytton principal, he had strapped a group of runaways, including one who had boasted the principal would never strap him. Hives said he called the boys up in front of the assembled male students. "I told them to take down their pants, which they did, and I strapped them."[36]

Hives may have made greater use of the strap than his speech suggested. In 1933, Fiction Chalton, an ex-elementary supervisor, wrote that at the Lytton school, "the 'strap' is altogether too much in evidence." Hives did not appear to be any limit on who could administer such punishment: "the child can be punished, strapped, pounced upon or threatened by anybody and this is carried to fantastic lengths."[37]

In that same year, Betty Marie Barber, an employee of the Social Welfare branch, filed a two-page report on problems at the Lytton school. Three children were complaining of the discipline at the school. Two said their teacher hit them in the face and strapped them. A third said that although she liked her teacher, she could hear children being strapped in another classroom.

Barber also passed on concerns that had been presented to her by the staff of the public high school in Lytton, which the older students from the residence were attending. A former residential teacher had asked Barber to see if she could do anything "about children who were being beaten." One boy had come to school with his face and eyes so badly beaten that he could hardly open his eyes. When questioned by Barber, he said he had been beaten by other boys at the school. Barber thought this was possible, but not likely. His teachers from the high school told Barber that they were worried about the conditions at the Lytton residence. Students came to school tired, with their work not done, and exhibiting a "poor attitude." They said that the students had told them that the Lytton principal, C. J. Hives, had told them "they are dirty smoking Indians and no one has any respect for them." The students also reported

[illegible] Indian Affairs officials suppressing the use of harsh punishments. In 1961, an unidentified Anglican Church official met with Stan Cockram, Ontario, principal [illegible] Church to discuss the serious truancy problem at the school. The notes of the meeting state that "Stan and Swantown [the Indian Affairs district superintendent] have recommended heavy strapping of offenders but it does no good." Some "ring-leaders have been expelled," and it was thought that it might be necessary to expel "a hard core of trouble makers" as well.[45]

After it was discovered that nine boys and four girls had visited each other in their dormitories in the fall of 1963, the Alert Bay, British Columbia, principal, Rod Mayling, strapped all thirteen on their bottoms in front of the assembled staff and students. John Lawrence, the district inspector of Indian schools, investigated the matter and concluded, "This incident could have its serious repercussions and I do think the incident could have been handled in a less violent manner. I request on more strapping to set a wise practice." He also noted that although the students had been visiting, he had concluded that there had been no evidence of "indecent acts or was there much intent."[46] At least two key elements of the discipline policy were being violated in this case: the children were strapped on their bottoms, and the punishment was delivered in a manner intended to humiliate them. The principal faced no immediate consequences.

A year later, J. V. Boyce, the Indian commissioner for British Columbia, was lobbying for the removal of the principal. Boyce wrote that the principal "had neither the necessity nor the good judgment to qualify him for this position. Obviously church authorities have disagreed with our evaluation of the man and his behavior and he remains Principal of the school."[47] By April of 1965, the church position on Mayling had changed, and he was replaced by the principal of the Cameron, Yukon, school.[48]

Parents could not be sure that their complaints would be properly investigated. In 1961, Wallace Bright, a member of the Iona Band council at Molanosum, Quebec, complained to A. E. Jolicoeur, the Quebec regional inspector of Indian schools, about harsh treatment at the Molanosum residential school. He characterized it as being "too hard." Among other claims, he charged one of the school's staff members (an Oblate brother) with injuring the children too frequently by kicking them. He also said that the community's difficulty in convincing boys to attend the school was due to their fear of the staff member. Bright informed Jolicoeur that the community had already brought the issue to the attention of the school's principal, to no avail, since he simply referred them to the staff member in question. Bright concluded by stating that if Jolicoeur could do nothing, he would take the issue to Ottawa.[49] In order to assess the validity of these complaints, Jolicoeur adopted precisely the approach that Bright had denounced: he enquired that the school's principal, Father Léo Laurin, investigate.[50] In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could locate no evidence that further action was taken in this case.

In July 1965, *Weekend Magazine*, a magazine distributed by many daily newspapers across Canada, ran an article about the treatment of Aboriginal people in Kenora, Ontario. Reporter Ian Adams wrote that a group of Aboriginal teenagers and adults had told him that students at the Presbyterian school in that community

> have rebelled against the harsh discipline by running away. Caught and brought back, they are locked in a room with just a mattress on the floor, left only their under clothes, and put on a bread-and-milk diet.
>
> A woman who had once worked at the school told me that she had seen a child of 11 treated this way. She also told me she had once seen a pair of teenage Indian girls humiliated by being made to come down and eat in the dining hall dressed only in their underwear.

Principal S. T. Robinson initially told Adams that he had no comment to make about the allegations. When Adams reported that he pressed him on the issue, Robinson said,

> "Well, I've been forced to use this punishment at times."
>
> "Then the locked room, the mattress it's all quite true?"
>
> "Yes."
>
> "And the bread-and-milk diet?"
>
> "I have used that at times."
>
> "Why do you leave them only their underwear?"
>
> "When they are brought back they're hard to handle. I have a responsibility to their parents to see that they don't run away again."[1136]

The Indian Affairs regional supervisor, G. S. Lapp, spoke to Principal Robinson after the article was published. According to Lapp's report, Robinson said that he admitted to the reporter that he had "confined two Indian children to their room in their underclothing with only bare mattresses in the room and provided a diet of bread and milk only as a means of punishment for their having run away from the school. He said that this was done with the consent of the parents of the children."

Robinson also said that the allegation that he had forced two girls to sit in the dining hall dressed in their underwear was a lie. Lapp added that Adams was a "Cub Reporter" with a chip on his shoulder. His parents had worked for the Kenora Indian Friendship Centre, which was operated by the Presbyterian Church. According to Lapp, the Adamses "did not work out too well" and had been pressured into quitting. Adams, he felt, had been trying to create a sensation and "hit back at the citizens of Kenora for the unfortunate experience his parents had in managing the Indian Friendship Centre."[1137]

Indian Affairs official H. B. Rodine also met with Principal Robinson about the article. In a letter to his superiors, Rodine stated:

> When specifically questioned concerning matters of discipline, Mr. Robinson indicated that he is constantly endeavouring to apply disciplinary measures which meet the individual need and the situation. From his conversations with me, I am certain the Branch can be assured the disciplinary methods to which he admitted in the article, will not be repeated.[140]

It is worth noting that, in this instance, numerous Indian Affairs policies had been violated. These violations had come to light not as the result of government supervision, but only through the work of a supposed "cub reporter." Indian Affairs appears to have spent a considerable amount of time and energy investigating the reporter and casting aspersions on his motives. In none of the documents did Indian Affairs address questions such as how the department had not known of the violation of discipline policy, whether similar violations were being committed, and what could be done to ensure adherence to policy. Principal Robinson resigned at the end of the 1965–66 school year to take on the position of director of the Kenora Friendship Centre.[141]

Even with the resignation, there was still good reason to ask such questions, about Kenora and elsewhere. In May 1965, K. Kerr, the regional supervisor of Indian Affairs in Saskatchewan, discharged R. Jubinville from his position as the boys' supervisor at the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school, after discovering that Jubinville had deliberately inflicted burns on the arms and necks of several boys as a form of punishment.[142] At the time, the police took no further action. However, in the 1990s, complaints from former students led the police to revisit the case. According to the Mounted Police, Jubinville was convicted on three charges of assault causing bodily harm and fined $500.[143]

A month after Jubinville's dismissal in May 1965, Indian Affairs ordered an investigation into allegations that runaway students from the Kamsack school had been punished by having their hair cropped. Instructions were issued to stop the practice immediately.[144] Part of the investigation was a review of the school files. Kerr and the newly appointed principal, Reverend Turenne, could not find a copy of the Indian Affairs regulations regarding discipline.[145]

Those who raised concerns about disciplinary problems might, in turn, be punished for their actions. Juliette Pomerleau, a girls' supervisor at the Hobbema, Alberta, school, wrote to the Indian Affairs chief superintendent of education in May 1966 to report that students at that school were being strapped on their bare bottoms, a practice she called "quite improper." She also enclosed two statements from students.[146] One student wrote of how she had been taken into an office by the father and told to kneel. "Then he pulled my skirt up and then he pulled my pants down and then he started to give me the strap."[147] A second girl wrote that she was told to remove her

jeans. "He gave me thirteen straps. He also waits a little moment every time I had the strap."[148]

In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate any documents describing the government response to these complaints. However, it appears the letter was written on the same day that the Hobbema principal, Paul Hudon, had dismissed Pomerleau. Without providing details, Hudon informed his superiors that she had been "going from bad to worst [sic] and was a very bad example to our students." According to Hudon, "The kind of punishment described by the girls is very inexact and exaggerated. I am sure that the girls did not mention anything about the fact they had been held back at the school during the week-end or were given some scrubbing to do ... etc." Hudon said he had arranged to have the girls transferred to "the Good Shepherd or Alberta Institute in Edmonton."[149]

In 1967, another Hobbema staff member, Jacqueline Bisson, sought a transfer because she "refused to teach under a Principal who's [sic] method of discipline" was "bare bottom strapping of the girls." She later complained that this refusal was being held against her when she applied for a leave of absence.[150]

There were examples of the churches' establishing and enforcing their own disciplinary policies. The 1967 Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school staff manual stated that corporal punishment was to be used only as a last resort. It could be administered only by the principal or, in the absence of the principal, the vice-principal or senior teacher. "Any staff member who strikes a child is liable to instant dismissal and possible prosecution. Difficult disciplinary problems must always be referred to a senior staff member."[151] This policy was enforced at another Anglican school in Saskatchewan that year. In April 1967, L. C. Bishop, an employee at the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan, was drawn to the boys' dormitory by the sounds of a fight. There, Bishop saw a child-care worker strike a student in the face with an open hand. The man then pulled the student from his bed and gave him a kick in the side. Bishop inspected the student, who complained of being beaten with a stick, and found "one ugly red mark along the lower back, four welts and two more red marks on his left buttocks." Bishop noted that the beating had been administered "in a state of acute anger," adding that there had been previous reports of students' being "kicked, slapped, and cuffed."[152] The sixty-four-year-old employee was fired the following month.[153]

Changing attitudes to corporal punishment

The use of the strap for discipline in public schools also came under scrutiny in the 1960s. The 1968 *Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives in the Schools of Ontario* condemned corporal punishment, saying there was no educational

benefit in pain or fear.[154] No action was taken on the report at the time, but a Toronto school trustee sought to have the strap banned in the following year. That attempt did not succeed, but the Toronto Board of Education banned the strap in 1971, the first Ontario school board to do so.[155]

In 1973, British Columbia banned corporal punishment, and, by 2009, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Yukon, Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, Newfoundland, Québec, Saskatchewan, and Ontario had all followed suit. A 2004 Supreme Court ruling held that the use of corporal punishment in Canadian schools was not acceptable, but allowed that teachers could use reasonable force to restrain or control students in certain situations.[156]

Some residential school principals appear to have accepted and incorporated these public policy changes into their residential schools. In a lecture on discipline that he delivered in the 1960s, Kamloops, British Columbia, principal Allan Noonan said, "Corporal punishment is now obsolete. Its passing I believe is due more to its ineffectiveness than to humanitarian ideals. I still favor corporal punishment for certain individual [sic] for very serious offences, but these would be rare occasions." He thought that the days of harsh scoldings and sarcasm were also passed. He said, "A Supervisor with a sarcastic tongue is a curse for children have no protection from this type." He also said children should not be sent to bed early or deprived of meals as a punishment. It is equally clear that Noonan believed that principals had a right to develop their own unorthodox and violent punishments. He thought that if older boys got into a fight and refused to apologize, their supervisor should "put them in the ring with gloves and supervise a boxing match until both boys are too tired to care any more. For a bully, this is good medicine too—let five little fellows with gloves on push him around the ring. The bully will get tired especially if he is made to box on his knees."[157]

All this is clearly in violation of the 1953 discipline policy. It is not clear if that policy was ever replaced. In May 1971, W. C. Thomas, the regional superintendent of education for Indian Affairs in Alberta, informed all principals and district superintendents in Alberta that he considered corporal punishment to be "an archaic practice which should cease forthwith." The directive applied to Indian day schools, which would have included all former residential schools in Alberta that were now being run by the federal government instead of by the churches.[158] The fact that this directive came from a regional superintendent, and applied only to schools in one province, suggests that any policy on discipline was, once more, being developed on a piecemeal basis.

Strapping was apparently still acceptable at institutions in British Columbia. When four girls ran away from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, residence in 1973 for the third time in a "matter of a few days," the child-care worker strapped each girl twice. On the following day, he informed the residence administrator of his actions, so it was

after the fact that the administrator reminded him that punishment could be administered only with his approval and in the presence of a witness.[159]

The cutting of hair also continued into the 1970s at some schools. Indian Affairs investigators found in 1970 that the staff of the Anglican school in La Tuque, Québec, were cutting both boys' and girls' hair to between one to two inches (2.5 to 5 centimetres) in length, depending on the gravity of the infraction, as a common disciplinary measure. The inspectors described the case of one student who was caught smoking by a staff member during a visit by the student's mother. The staff member located scissors and "proceeded to cut off some of her hair in front of her mother."[160]

The closing years

By the mid-1970s, many of the residential schools in Canada were closed, and the frequency of reported conflicts over corporal punishment declined. But they did not go away. Conflicts among students, parents, and administrators contributed to the closing of two Mennonite-sponsored schools in northwestern Ontario. The administration of the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school was unable to stamp out what appears to have been an institutional culture of harsh and abusive discipline.

The Poplar Hill and Stirland Lake conflicts

In the late 1980s, conflicts erupted over discipline at the Poplar Hill and Stirland Lake schools in northwestern Ontario. These schools were operated by the Northern Light Gospel Mission, an independent Mennonite mission to Aboriginal people, and an offshoot of the mission called the Northern Youth Programs.[161] The schools, which had initially been established with support from Indian Affairs, received their funding from First Nations-controlled education councils.

In 1989, the Northern Nishnawbe Education Council (NNEC) decided to cut off funding for children attending the Northern Light Gospel Mission school at Poplar Hill. The decision, which forced the school to close, was made after agreement could not be reached between the NNEC and the Northern Light Gospel Mission over the role that corporal punishment would play in the school. According to Rodney Howe of the NNEC, corporal punishment was administered by having one staff person hold a student down on a table, while a second person struck the student with a leather strap. The NNEC wished to see corporal punishment abolished, while the school administration was prepared only to limit its use to children under the age of twelve. The chair of the school's board of directors said, "Rather than giving up biblical principles, we decided to stay within our guidelines [on the use of corporal punishment]."

Howe had been educated at the school and had later worked there as a counsellor. His concerns over discipline were one of the reasons he left the school staff. Howe said he did not believe children were abused at the school, but he was disturbed by reports of a "counselling room" in which children were alleged to have been locked for hours at a time.[162] By January of the following year, the school had not reopened. Parents from some communities were reportedly lobbying the NNEC to reverse its decision on funding.[163] The controversy led police and child-welfare agencies to initiate an investigation into the school. Mennonite missionaries working in northwestern Ontario also voiced their criticism of the school. Kate Kroeker said she had spoken to a former student who said that in the past, students had been beaten "black and blue."[164] Former staff argued that corporal punishment was used only as a last resort, and said that the conflict over discipline was, in reality, a conflict between the Northern Nishnawbe Education Council and the Northern Light Gospel Mission over control of the school.[165] A critical report on the school appeared in the *Mennonite Reporter*, a publication of the Mennonite Central Committee, with which the Northern Light Gospel Mission was not affiliated. The article prompted a former student to come forward in defence of the school. She said she credited her success in life to the eight years she spent at the school. She also said she had been spanked while she was at the school, but only after receiving several warnings.[166]

There had been complaints about discipline at the Mennonite schools in the past. When two girls refused to return to the Poplar Hill school after the Christmas break during the 1964–65 school year, Principal C. Schnupp attributed their decision in part to the fact that after they had run away, he had punished them "rather harshly by strapping and forfeiting recreational and choir privileges for approximately one month."[167] Richard Morris of the NNEC investigated complaints about discipline in 1979, reporting that, in most cases, students were punished by being required to work without pay, or through a system of fines, with the money being used to purchase gift certificates "for students who do well in school." In the case of continual poor behaviour, students were either sent home or subjected to corporal punishment, which consisted of "a strap in the rump." Morris passed no judgment on this punishment, and the overall thrust of his report was that treatment of the students was fair and acceptable.[168]

A physical fight broke out on March 2, 1987, between students and staff at the Stirland Lake, Ontario, school. Staff had found male and female students, ranging in age from fifteen to eighteen, together in dormitories. In the ensuing confrontation, students were reported to have hit teachers with hockey sticks and pieces of firewood. One staff member suffered a broken cheekbone and six others were treated for cuts and bruises. The fifty-nine students at the school were sent home; some were expelled. Sixteen students initially faced a variety of charges, including assault and mischief.[169] One nineteen-year-old student pleaded guilty to assault causing bodily harm and common assault in May 1987.[170] The Stirland Lake school closed in 1991.[171]

In February 1991, it was announced that no charges were being laid after the investigation into the Poplar Hill school, which had never reopened. The former director of education of the Northern Light Gospel Mission said, "At this point, it looks like residential schools are a closed chapter across Canada."[170]

The Gordon's school

The Gordon's school residence in Saskatchewan did not close until the late 1980s. The school had a long history of poor management, sexual abuse of students, and complaints that discipline was harsh and abusive. It is apparent that throughout the school's later years, its management did not control the staff. The result was ongoing abuse of students. (The sexual abuse of students at this school is discussed in the following chapter of this volume.)

According to a 1970 disciplinary memo in his employee file, the senior boys' child-care worker at the Gordon's school overheard a boy ask a fellow student where her brother was. The staff member interjected, "in the dump" where all the members of her family "should be." When the girl told the supervisor to shut up, he slapped her across the face, causing her nose to bleed. The memo noted that when he was reprimanded, the employee "acted belligerently."[171]

In 1975, a staff member at Gordon's was instructed to stop swearing at the students, to stop labelling students from certain reserves as being lazy and stupid, and to stop using bodily force to get students to obey him.[172] The man was disciplined two years later when he hit a boy in the head and kicked him in the ribs to get him out of bed, and then dragged the boy to the lounge. The boy had slammed his door to express his frustration with the cancellation of a trip into town to attend a hockey game.[173] Because the staff member had been previously warned about his "man-handling" of students, he was suspended without pay for three days.[174] In 1978, a child-care worker struck a student with a broom handle, fracturing her arm. The student had apparently "talked back" to her.[175]

Discipline continued to be an issue in the 1980s. When a child-care worker located five runaways, he strapped one of them, and told the rest that if they did not like life in the residence, all he needed to do was ask their parents to have them discharged. In a written report, the child-care worker said that he did not worry too much about one boy who had run away, since he was seventeen and usually ended up at a friend's home. His report also noted that another student had told his grandparents that two child-care workers had hit him with a broom, a charge that the two women denied.[176] In the spring of 1986, students at the Gordon's residence complained that the same child-care worker had grabbed them by the throat and the hair, pushed them around, banged their heads against doors, and verbally abused them.[177]

In mid-1985, another child-care worker at the Gordon's school was suspended for three days after he threw a student out of bed.[107] The agenda for a 1986 child-care workers' meeting noted that one of the employees had been seen pushing young children when he wanted them to get going. The author noted, "I think they are rather small for that and I don't think they respond all that well."[108]

In 1987, thirteen female students at the residence were interviewed about the treatment they were receiving from one of the child-care workers on staff. An internal investigation concluded that a child-care worker had sexually harassed one former employee, had shown "gross misjudgment in his physical contact and in his intrusion of privacy with female students," "gross incompetence in his counselling of adolescent girls in matters of their sexuality," and had thereby led many students to leave or not return to the residence. As a result, he was dismissed.[109] In 2001, two women successfully sued the child-care worker for injuries and losses they suffered as a consequence of being sexually assaulted by him while they were students at the Gordon's residence.[110]

The record shows that in 1987,

- a child-care worker slapped a girl who "was being pretty flippy";[111]
- a staff member grabbed a student by the hair and walked him to the office while holding his hair, because he believed the boy was lying when he said he did not have any homework;[112] and
- a child-care worker, "Mr. R," frustrated with a boy who had been bothering younger students, banged the offender's head against the wall.[113]

In 1988,

- three boys were strapped ten times on each hand for causing other boys to black out;[114] and
- a female student complained that her child-care worker had hit her on the head with a broom.[115] After an investigation, the residence administrator concluded that the incident had not taken place.[116]

Problem staff continued to be employed. A March 14, 1991, letter summarized four incidents in the previous six months for which a child-care worker had been disciplined for using too much force. These included: cuffing runaways on the back of their heads; grabbing a boy by the neck and pushing him down on a sofa; striking a boy on the side of the head with a closed hand; and slapping two boys, pushing the head of one of them into a locker. The only disciplinary action, however, was to advise the child-care worker to seek assistance, and to warn him that the consequences of further misconduct would be "very severe."[117] In 1993, he was given a three-day suspension after hitting three members of the school hockey team on their helmets with a hockey stick to demonstrate his frustration with the team's poor performance. This

[illegible] for was warned that "future incidents of this nature will be dealt with in a more severe manner."[illegible]

One of the few positive comments that can be made about this record is that it demonstrates that administrators were attempting to control abusive discipline in the school. The repeated instructions suggest that these efforts were not successful. Students continued to be subject to violence and often humiliating punishments that often were administered by people who had no authority to do so and who chose to keep no record of what they had done.

The federal government failed to establish and enforce a comprehensive discipline policy for the residential schools and residences that it funded. The testimony of former students speaks to the result: a system of institutions that were characterized by harsh, punitive, and humiliating discipline. These measures undermined the schools' educational mission, caused many students to run away, and diminished the perceived value of schooling held by many Aboriginal students. In addition, the schools' harsh disciplinary regime served, unintentionally, to distance many Aboriginal people from the church here and missionary organizations that ran the schools and residences.

The failure to develop, implement, and monitor effective discipline sent an unspoken message that there were no real limits on what could be done to Aboriginal children within the walls of a residential school. The abuse had been ignored to the appalling level of physical and sexual abuse of students that is the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 11

Abuse: 1960–2000

On October 30, 1965, the Montreal-based Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's flagship English-language current affairs television program, *This Hour Has Seven Days*, broadcast a documentary titled *Children Apart*. The documentary was produced by Patrick Watson, a well-known Canadian broadcaster, author, and filmmaker. Watson had previously produced a documentary on Indian residential schools titled *Assignment*, which had been broadcast on CBC television in 1964. *Assignment* had been the first television program to publicly report on the widespread sexual abuse of children in residential schools. Watson's 1965 documentary, *Children Apart*, was the second television program to publicly report on the widespread sexual abuse of children in residential schools.

Children Apart was a documentary about the Mohawk Indian Residential School in Brantford, Ontario. The documentary was produced by Patrick Watson, a well-known Canadian broadcaster, author, and filmmaker. Watson had previously produced a documentary on Indian residential schools titled *Assignment*, which had been broadcast on CBC television in 1964. *Assignment* had been the first television program to publicly report on the widespread sexual abuse of children in residential schools. *Children Apart*

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Table 61.3 sets out the factors that were recognized by the Settlement Agreement as aggravating the abusive acts outlined above.

Table 61.3. Aggravating factors under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

• Verbal abuse
• Racist acts
• Threats
• Intimidation/inability to complain, oppression
• Humiliation, degradation
• Sexual abuse accompanied by violence
• Age of the victim or abuse of a particularly vulnerable child
• Failure to provide care or emotional support following abuse requiring such care
• Witnessing another student being subjected to an act set out on page 3 [the page that lists the acts described above]
• Use of religious doctrine, paraphernalia or authority during, or in order to facilitate, the abuse
• Being abused by an adult who had built a particular relationship of trust and caring with the victim (betrayal)

Source: Schedule D: Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for Continuing Indian Residential School Abuse Claims, www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/schedule_d.pdf.

Such abuses have serious impacts. Table 61.4 sets out the following five levels of consequential harms.

Table 61.4. Compensable harms under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

a) Continued harm resulting in serious dysfunction
• Evidenced by: psychotic disorganization, loss of ego boundaries, personality disorders, pregnancy resulting from a defined sexual assault or the forced termination of such pregnancy or being required to place for adoption a child resulting therefrom, self injury, suicidal tendencies, inability to form or maintain personal relationships, chronic post-traumatic stress, sexual dysfunction, or eating disorders.
b) Harm resulting in some dysfunction
• Evidenced by: frequent difficulties with interpersonal relationships, development of obsessive-compulsive and panic states, severe anxiety, occasional suicidal tendencies, permanent significantly disabling physical injury, overwhelming guilt, self blame, lack of trust in others, severe post-traumatic stress disorder, some sexual dysfunction, or eating disorders.
c) Continued detrimental impact
• Evidenced by: difficulties with interpersonal relationships, occasional obsessive-compulsive and panic states, some post-traumatic stress disorder, occasional sexual dysfunction, addiction to drugs, alcohol or substances, a long term significantly disabling physical injury resulting from a defined sexual assault, or lasting and significant anxiety, guilt, self blame, lack of trust

in others, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, hyper vigilance, anger, retaliatory rage and possibly self inflicted injury.

III Some detrimental impact.

- Evidenced by: occasional difficulty with personal relationships, some mild post-traumatic stress disorder, self blame, lack of trust in others, and low self-esteem; and/or several occasions and several symptoms of: anxiety, guilt, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, panic states, hyper-vigilance, retaliatory rage, depression, humiliation, loss of self-esteem.

IV Modest detrimental impact.

- Evidenced by: occasional short-term, one of: anxiety, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, panic states, hyper vigilance, retaliatory rage, depression, humiliation, loss of self-esteem.

Source: Sutherdale D: Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for Continuing Indian Residential School Abuse Claims, www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/sutherdale_d-iap.pdf.

Table 41.9. Distribution of Independent Assessment Process settlement amounts to September 30, 2014.

Provinces and Territories	Total		$5,000	
	# of claims	% of national total	# of claims	% of provincial total
Alberta	4,056	19.9%	714	17%
British Columbia	4,130	20.1%	547	13%
Manitoba	2,752	13.6%	341	12%
New Brunswick	0	0%	0	0%
Newfoundland and Labrador	0	0%	0	0%
Northwest Territories	1,216	5.9%	145	12%
Nova Scotia	200	.98%	20	10%
Nunavut	92	.45%	10	11%
Ontario	1,932	9.4%	255	13%
Prince Edward Island	0	0%	0	0%
Québec	1,111	5.4%	138	12%
Saskatchewan	4,620	22.5%	711	15%
Yukon	315	1.5%	81	26%
Unknown/Outside Canada	3	.01%	1	33%
Total	20,509		2,959	
Share of National Total				14%

Source: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Map of Independent Assessment Process (IAP) Settlements by Compensation Amount, Data from September 19, 2003, to September 30, 2014.

In addition to the above, the IAP provided compensation for loss of opportunity and the need for future care. Compensation was provided on the basis of a point system that considered both the acts of abuse and the consequences. Table 41.5 sets out the distribution of Independent Assessment Process settlement amounts to September 30, 2014.

As the table demonstrates, in 21% of the cases, the awards were greater than $150,000. Awards of this size are reflective of the most violent, intrusive, and aggravated acts, and the highest levels of harm. Not only was abuse prevalent at schools throughout the country, but, for a large percentage of former students, it was also extremely violent, intrusive, and harmful.

$50,000–$99,999		$100,000–$149,999		$150,000–$199,999		$200,000+	
# of claims	% of provincial total	# of claims	% of provincial total	# of claims	% of provincial total	# of claims	% of provincial total
1,282	31%	1,402	34%	489	12%	211	5%
811	20%	1,495	36%	864	21%	413	10%
838	30%	1,007	36%	455	16%	151	5%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
368	30%	434	36%	202	17%	69	6%
61	30.5%	97	48.5%	15	7.5%	7	3.5%
31	34%	35	38%	13	14%	3	3%
532	27%	758	39%	284	15%	125	6%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
410	37%	387	35%	114	10%	62	6%
1,435	31%	1,743	38%	554	12%	177	4%
54	17%	106	34%	55	17%	19	6%
0	0%	2	67%	0	0%	0	0%
5,822		7,466		3,045		1,237	
	28%		36%		15%		6%

Table 41.6 breaks down the Independent Assessment Process claims by gender. Men made 51.5% of the claims, and women made 48.5% of the claims.

Table 41.6. Distribution of Independent Assessment Process claims by gender as of September 14, 2014.

Provinces and Territories	Female		Male		Total
	Total	Percentage of Provincial Total	Total	Percentage of Provincial Total	
Alberta	3,403	51%	3,291	49%	6,694
British Columbia	2,720	49%	2,782	51%	5,502
Manitoba	2,128	50%	2,145	50%	4,273
New Brunswick	31	46%	36	54%	67
Newfoundland and Labrador	3	60%	2	40%	5
Northwest Territories	621	45%	762	55%	1,383
Nova Scotia	90	47%	103	53%	193
Nunavut	172	50%	172	50%	344
Ontario	1,317	47%	1,456	53%	2,773
Prince Edward Island	9	50%	9	50%	18
Québec	789	44%	987	56%	1,776
Saskatchewan	3,487	47%	4,007	53%	7,494
Yukon	222	51%	216	49%	438
Unknown/Outside Canada	158	62%	95	38%	253
Total	15,150		16,063		31,213
Percentage of National Total		48.5%		51.5%	

Source: Secretariat database (SADRE), 14 September 2014, "Data for the TRC – October 7, 2014," electronic document received from the Indian Residential Schools Adjudication Secretariat attached to email from Shelley Trevethan to Kim Murray, 10 October 2014. [Data for the TRC–October 7, 2014]

Table 41.7 reports on all compensated IAP claims (as of September 2014) by the most serious proven act of abuse in each claim, a breakdown according to gender.

Table 41.7. Compensated claims by gender and the most serious proven act of abuse.

	Female	Male	Total
SL5	649	1,393	2,042
SL4	1,820	2,401	4,221
SL3	2,379	1,465	3,844
PL	646	828	1,474
SL2	627	960	1,587
SL1	1,193	606	1,799
OWA	12	21	33
Total	7,326	7,674	15,000

Source: Secretariat database (SADRE), 14 September 2014, "Data for the TRC – October 7, 2014," electronic document received from the Indian Residential Schools Adjudication Secretariat attached to email from Shelley Trevethan to Kim Murray, 10 October 2014.

Male students were compensated at the most serious and damaging category of abuse at a greater rate than female students.

Table 41.8 shows the distribution of admitted IAP claims by denomination.

Table 41.8. Distribution of admitted IAP claims by denomination as of September 30, 2013.

Provinces and Territories	Anglican		Roman Catholic		Baptist	
	Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of prov. total
Alberta	588	10%	4,815	81%	0	0%
British Columbia	627	13%	3,550	76%	0	0%
Manitoba	577	17%	2,093	63%	0	0%
New Brunswick	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Newfoundland and Labrador	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Northwest Territories	255	20%	974	76%	0	0%
Nova Scotia	0	0%	300	100%	0	0%
Nunavut	0	0%	72	33%	0	0%
Ontario	977	35%	1,380	50%	0	0%
Prince Edward Island	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Québec	268	18%	1,163	79%	0	0%
Saskatchewan	2,916	39%	4,528	61%	0	0%
Yukon	64	32%	28	13%	40	21%
Unknown/Outside Canada	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	6,242		18,903		40	
Share of National Total		22.5%		68%		.14%

Source: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Map of Independent Assessment Process (IAP) Claims by Church Organization, Data from September 19, 2007, to September 30, 2013.

Non-denominational		Presbyterian		Mennonite		United Church		Total	
Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of prov. total	Number of claims	Share of national total
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	556	9%	5,929	21%
76	2%	0	0%	0	0%	407	9%	4,660	17%
35	1%	190	6%	0	0%	448	13%	3,343	12%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
51	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1,280	4.6%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	300	1%
145	67%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	217	.8%
1	.04%	275	10%	133	5%	14	.5%	2,780	10%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
36	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1,467	5.5%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	.03%	7,446	27%
68	33%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	200	.7%
0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
412		465		133		1,427		27,622	
	1.5%		1.7%		.5%		5%		

The number of schools and residences under the administration of each denomination fluctuated considerably. Enrolment also varied drastically. For example, while the federal government operated a large number of non-denominational hostels in northern Canada in the 1960s, enrolment in these hostels was often ten students or fewer. Table 41.9 compares each denomination's share of the national total of admitted IAP claims with the denomination's share of the number of schools recognized by the Settlement Agreement that were in operation in 1960, 1968, and 1988.

Table 41.9. Distribution of admitted IAP claims by denomination as of September 30, 2013.

Church	Share of National Total of Admitted IAP Claims	Share of National Total of Settlement Agreement Schools		
		1960	1969	1989
Anglican	22.5%	25%	22%	19%
Baptist	.14%	0%	1%	0%
Mennonite	.5%	0%	0%	.4%
Non-denominational	1.5%	0%	3%	2%
Presbyterian	1.3%	2%	2%	0%
Roman Catholic	68%	57%	60%	65%
United Church	5%	16%	7%	0%

Source: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Map of Independent Assessment Process (IAP) Claims by Church Organization, Data from September 19, 2007, to September 30, 2013, and opening and closing dates of Settlement Agreement schools.

As can be seen, the percentage of claims made against each denomination is reflective of the denomination's share of the number of schools in operation in the post-1920 period.

Claims could also be made under the IAP for compensation for abuse experienced at the hands of other students. Table 41.10 shows that one-third (8,470) of admitted IAP claims (26,261) have been related to the abuse of students by students as of September 30, 2013. This relationship varies significantly from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. In Nova Scotia, such claims account for 63% of the admitted IAP claims made from that province. The issue of student abuse of students is discussed in the following chapter.

Table 41: no Distribution of Independent Assessment Process claims by student-to-student abuse as of September 30, 2013.

Provinces and Territories	Admitted Student-to-Student Claims	Total Admitted Claims	Student-to-Student Claims as a Percentage of Admitted Claims for Each Jurisdiction
Alberta	1,690	6,139	27%
British Columbia	1,253	4,886	26%
Manitoba	1,828	6,132	30%
New Brunswick	0	0	0%
Newfoundland and Labrador	0	0	0%
Northwest Territories	383	1,290	30%
Nova Scotia	190	900	21%
Nunavut	58	198	29%
Ontario	1,340	5,008	27%
Prince Edward Island	0	0	0%
Quebec	887	1,573	56%
Saskatchewan	1,830	1,866	98%
Yukon	80	320	25%
Unknown/Outside Canada	2	3	67%
Total	10,433	30,136	
Percentage of National Total		35%	

Source: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Distribution of IAP Claims with Student-to-Student Abuse Only, Data from September 19, 2007, to September 30, 2013.

Taken together, the data from the Independent Assessment Process and the Common Experience Payment provide strong evidence that

- abuse was widespread throughout the residential school system;
- a significant percentage of the acts of abuse were of a serious nature with potentially lifelong impacts;
- male and female students were abused at equal rates;
- male students were compensated at the most serious and damaging category of abuse at a greater rate than female students;
- students were at risk in all institutions, regardless of the denomination of the religious order in charge of the institution; and
- student abuse of fellow students was a serious and widespread problem.

The rest of this chapter is based on documentary evidence and the limited number of criminal investigations and prosecutions that have been undertaken into the abuse of residential school students. (Civil court cases are discussed in a later chapter on the development of the Settlement Agreement.) It provides stark evidence of the violent and destructive side of residential schooling in Canada.

[illegible]

The documents and the criminal prosecutions

[illegible]

- **Failure to acknowledge the legitimacy of [illegible] reports of abuse.** In 1999, an Indian Affairs official disparaged the veracity of [illegible] people who brought forward complaints about abuse.[1] There are reports that in the 1990s, complaints about the activities of two more senior staffers in the principal's office at Lejac Indian Residential School in British Columbia. Accordingly to the complainants, no action was taken at the time.[2] One of the senior staffers continued to [illegible] complaints were committed at the school.[3] The other died before the complaints came to light.[4]

- **Failure to take action.** For example, Saskatchewan school employee was [illegible] as he was convicted of assaulting a female student.[5] In [illegible], Residential Schools, despite complaints from ex-students and suspicions raised by staff, there was no investigation into the behaviour of an employee at Cowichan Indian Residential School, who was later discovered to have abused several students, was allowed to work in the male dorm at the school [illegible].[6]

- **Failure to investigate complaints appropriately.** Charges of sexual misconduct made against the principal of the Kamloops school were investigated by the [illegible] police in 1939.[7]

- **Church failure to report abuse to police.** In three instances in the [illegible] and Roman Catholic Commissioner of Canada could locate no record of criminal allegations made against the principal of the Cranbrook school in 1959 were reported to Indian Affairs or the police.[8] In 1969, Indian Affairs officials were of the opinion that United Church officials were not sharing [illegible] information on abuse at the United Church Edmonton school.[9] In the same year, United Church officials had been aware of the actions of a [illegible] at the Edmonton school, but, by that time, the issue had left the school. But one [illegible] evidence to indicate that United Church officials [illegible] concerns about the individual's activities in the police or Indian Affairs.[10] Similarly, in 1951, Anglican Church officials decided not to involve the police in a case of abuse by a staff member [other than left the school].[11] When the principal of the Lejac, British Columbia, school learned in 1973 that an employee was abusing students, he stated he was then told not to report the assaults or [illegible] to allow the perpetrator to collect the police or Indian Affairs.[12]

- **Governments failure to report abuse to the police.** When federal government officials [illegible] that an employee at Cowichan Indian Residential School was abusing students, he was dismissed. No report was made to the police.[13]

- **Failure on the part of Indian Affairs [illegible] staff to report [illegible] to the prosecution of [illegible] school staff.** In 1969, Indian Affairs officials in Ottawa were not able to get detailed reports from their field staff on the [illegible] of a teacher at the Mackay, Alberta, school.[14]

Category B: Lazy and indifferent

Category C: Suspected moral grounds

Category D: Definite knowledge of lack of suitability on moral grounds

Category E: Satisfactory staff members

She was would then send out circulars of names and the appropriate categories (which were identified solely by the appropriate letter of the alphabet) to principals and administrators.[55] A list sent out in April 1962, for example, listed two people in category C.[56]

Indian Affairs established a similar 'Caution List' in 1968. All Indian Affairs school superintendents were required to submit the names of all former teachers who had "*created problems*" and were no longer employed by Indian Affairs.[57] The first list was sent out in June 1968. No one on the list was to be hired without the approval of the Indian Affairs office in Ottawa.[58]

There is no simple way to present the following material. A jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction approach has been selected, since it allows for the portrayal of ongoing problems of a number of specific institutions. It also provides for a discussion of specific police investigations that were limited to single jurisdictions. One of the limitations of this approach arises in the cases of individuals who worked (and abused children) in more than one jurisdiction.

The Commission has not been able to identify any convictions in either Nova Scotia or Quebec. However, the Commission is convinced by the statements it received, and by the evidence provided through the test process, that students were also abused at schools in both these jurisdictions.

Alberta

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been able to locate records of prosecutions for incidents at the Morley and Edmonton schools in Alberta.

The Morley school, 1966

In 1966, Indian Affairs officials consulted with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police about allegations that the principal of the Morley school had engaged in "*misconduct*" with female students. The allegations had been brought forward by a couple who said they had heard stories of events that had taken place several years earlier. A decision was made not to proceed with the investigation unless the couple would provide the names of either the parents or the students they believed had been victimized. In

assessing the complaint, Indian agent C. Pant. Schmidt wrote, "Indian parents and Indian pupils who develop a dislike against a residential school principal, are apt to make statements from time to time which cannot be supported by the facts."[47]

Documents reviewed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission did not reveal that any further investigation took place.

The Edmonton school, 1960

The Edmonton school was consumed by crisis in September 1960. In the middle of September, a United Church missionary, the Reverend Earl Stotesbury, accompanied a number of students from Saskatchewan to the Edmonton school. Stotesbury became suspicious of the relations between the school chaplain, James Ludford, and some of the male students. Stotesbury took affidavits from a number of the students, the content of which confirmed his suspicions that Ludford was having sexual relations with some students. Fearing for the safety of the students he had brought to the school, Stotesbury arranged alternate accommodations for them. He also alerted several church officials about his concerns. Since they failed to act with the speed he thought the matter required, he called the police. And, when he saw that Ludford had packed his bags and was preparing to leave the school, Stotesbury felt obliged to physically detain him—leading to a violent encounter between the two men.[48]

Ludford was arrested and pleaded guilty to acts of gross indecency with one other person between February 1 and June 30, 1960. He was given a one-year suspended sentence. As a condition of his sentence, he was to report to the provincial mental hospital and not participate in activities with individuals under the age of twenty-one.[49]

It is clear that First Nations people had a better understanding than did the government or the administrators of what was going on at the school. In December 1960, three months after the abuse had been uncovered, members of the Kitwancool Band announced that their children who attended the Edmonton school would not be returning to the school after the Christmas holidays. One of the band leaders told local Indian Affairs official I. E. Inget:

> For a number of years now we have been hearing unfavourable rumours about the Edmonton school. We did not want to send our children to that school this year and did so only because the Agency Superintendent promised us that they would be returning to Kitwancool at Christmas. Our children write to us saying that they have been subjected to some personal abuse by some of the other children. We are, also, told that there has been immorality in that school. One girl wrote to her mother saying, 'please send for us if you do not want us to come home in caskets.' We are very much concerned for the welfare of our children and want them back home at the end of the school term.

Inget wrote that he did not "for one moment believe that things are as bad as all that." He proposed that the children remain in the school until he had carried out an investigation. However, he said, "they are so highly emotionalized about this that they feel, regardless of what such an investigation might reveal, it would not restore their confidence in the school."[50]

Dwight Powell, the superintendent of Home Missions of the United Church for Alberta, informed Indian Affairs that, in his opinion, only a small number of students, most of whom had left the school by then, had been victimized by Ludford. The names of the students were not provided to school principal Oliver Strapp, who announced that he was resigning at the end of the year.[51] Ludford's abuse of students was hushed up within the church: the minutes of the Edmonton school committee meeting held on October 27, 1960, merely stated that Ludford had become ill and had to leave the school, and that Strapp would be retiring at the end of the school year.[52]

On November 30, 1960, L. C. Hunter of Indian Affairs in Alberta informed R. F. Davey, his superior in Ottawa, that "at least one other staff member had been involved in acts of sexual deviation." According to Hunter, that staff member had resigned "ostensibly for other reasons." A Reverend MacMillan, the chair of the Edmonton United Church Presbytery, and Dwight Powell had the details of the cases but failed to disclose them to Indian Affairs. Hunter did report to Davey that "we have every reason to believe that the over-all situation at the Edmonton Residential School is far from being wholesome." Both MacMillan and Powell agreed with Hunter that Strapp should be dismissed immediately, since his "continuation as principal may prove to be exceptionally embarrassing to the United Church and irreparably damaging to the students."[53]

Church officials continued to focus on covering up the issue. On November 25, 1960, Powell wrote to E. E. M. Joblin, the United Church's associate secretary for Home Missions, about the situation in Edmonton. Reminding Joblin of the "difficulty that the Rev. J. C. Ludford got himself into," he went on to say that "similar things have been said" about a recently departed staff member. Powell said that Strapp was defending the individual's reputation, but Powell believed that "there certainly seems to us to be more to these things that are being said that [sic] just an effort to discredit someone wrongfully."

Powell also reported that boys had been getting into the girls' dormitories at night. Strapp blamed the problem on Indian Affairs official Hunter, who had insisted that Strapp stop locking the dormitory doors. Powell had reached the conclusion that Strapp had "little of love or charity in his attitude to the Indian child." He continued, "We hear of corporal punishment being meted out with the buckle ends of belts, severe enough to raise welts on bodies; Mr. Strapp says that he has put a stop to that. But our feeling is that there is too much of slapping and physical force in punishments." Although Strapp had originally indicated he would leave at the end of December, he

had concluded that not to work until the end of June would be an admission of failure.[54] Within days of Powell's letter, however, Strapp also wrote to Joblin, noting that the school had been a "trouble spot through the years." Strapp said he thought he would be ill if he stayed longer. As a result, he was prepared to go as soon as possible.[55] He was replaced in January 1961 by the recently retired A. E. Caldwell, who had been the principal of the Alberni, British Columbia, school since 1944.[56]

At the end of January 1961, Caldwell wrote a harsh and, at times, offensive assessment of the staff, wondering how "Strapp managed to aggregate such a bunch of cripples." He said there was only one of the women on staff worth keeping. One had a serious heart problem, one had fainting spells, one was a "Sectarian fanatic," and he had previously dismissed another, whom he termed "brainless," when she had worked for him at the Alberni school. He concluded by noting that "from numerous statements I have unearthed, it would seem that Strapp had another 'homo' on the staff from last March to November." This was the same individual about whom Powell had raised concerns.[57] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's file review has not located any documents indicating that the United Church informed Indian Affairs or the police about its concerns about this former employee.

The United Church also allowed James Ludford to continue to work with Aboriginal people. From 1961 to 1964, he worked at the Fraserdale, Ontario, mission, and from 1964 to 1970, he worked at the Parry Sound, Ontario, mission.[58] Ludford died in 1990.[59]

Hiring a new principal did not end the mistreatment of students at the Edmonton school. In 1962, Lonnie George Young wrote to his parents in Skidegate, British Columbia, that the new supervisor at the Edmonton school was making life miserable for the students.

> Just because he is an ex-cop I guess he thinks he can get away with anything, like drinking and making us work when ever it pleases him to do such. Like this morning at 2 a.m. he woke us up and started to preach to us on how stupid the Indian was. Christ I got mad me and another boy from Port Simpson were the only ones who sat up to show we were mad too. Then he comes up to me and askes [sic] me if I want to fight. Then this morning at 5 a.m. he got us up to go and scrub the basement. It was there I desided [sic] I'd like to go home because he slapped me around for not getting haircut that morning.[60]

The boy's father passed the letter on to Indian Affairs. An investigation concluded, "George Young's report on the situation at this school is true, at least to some extent." Indian Affairs official L. C. Hunter wrote that the supervisor in question was told that he would "be dismissed immediately should he, in the future, resort to corporal punishment or any form of harsh discipline of the students."[61]

The Morley school, 1963

In May 1963, Morley, Alberta, school principal Ron Campbell suspected one of the staff members, Robert G. Pooley, of engaging in "homosexual activities." An Indian Affairs report on the matter noted that there was no evidence to substantiate the allegation, adding that the principal was "watching Mr. Pooley very carefully."[62] Three weeks after the Indian Affairs report was written, Pooley resigned his position at the school.[63] The Mounted Police arrested him on June 3, 1963. According to A. MacKinnon, the school's supervising principal (the principal was responsible to a supervising principal), Pooley was charged with having engaged in "homosexual activities with young boys." MacKinnon believed the evidence came from "boys in the school." After pleading not guilty before a magistrate, Pooley was sent to the Ponoka, Alberta, mental institute to determine if he was fit to stand trial.[64] He was convicted in the fall of 1963. While correspondence from Indian Affairs officials reported that he was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a juvenile, newspaper accounts of the day stated that he was convicted of indecently assaulting a fifteen-year-old boy. Pooley, who maintained his innocence, was given a one-year sentence to be served at a provincial mental institute.[65]

The assistant director of education for Indian Affairs, R. F. Davey, found it impossible to get Alberta regional staff to provide him with definitive information on the case.[66] A number of church and government officials appear to have believed that Pooley's conviction was a miscarriage of justice.[67] Despite his conviction, Pooley was determined to continue his career as a teacher, and sought work with school boards in Ontario and Alberta. In doing so, he used Indian Affairs officials as references. In his response to a query about Pooley from a school board, M. Brodhead, the Indian Affairs district school superintendent for southern Alberta, made no mention of his arrest or conviction. In one letter, Brodhead wrote, "I would not hesitate in recommending him for employment in your district."[68] Pooley got the job; by October 1964, he was teaching in the Spirit River School Division in Alberta.[69] When, earlier that year, he had sought employment with Indian Affairs as a teacher, R. F. Davey recommended against hiring him.[70]

British Columbia cases

British Columbia is the province with the largest number of prosecutions of former residential school employees for abuse. At least sixteen former employees of ten schools have been charged with the abuse of students. These charges led to the conviction of eight individuals. Only one of the individuals was tried and convicted in the

period shortly after the abuse occurred. In all other cases, the prosecutions took place years later.

This was partly because parental concerns were often disregarded. When communities made accusations of abuse, they were often greeted with official skepticism. The Sechelt Band Council petitioned Indian Affairs for a number of changes at the Sechelt school in early 1959. In particular, they asked that one of the staff be transferred to another school.[71] In presenting the petition, the band councillors were reported to have "hinted in their conversation with the Commissioner that [this staff member] was even making improper advances to the boys."

In reporting the matter to his superiors, school principal Bernardo wrote,

> I pointed out that this was completely ridiculous, more, it was diabolical and did not even deserve consideration. But to assure the Inspector who was charged with the unpleasant task of repeating the inference to me, I stated that I and all past Principals give [the staff member in question] our complete confidence and vouch for his integrity without limit.

Bernardo wrote that, "for the sake of his blood pressure," he did not speak to the individual about the allegation.[72] In response, Oblate Provincial L. K. Poupore wrote, "I would prefer not to discuss the matter with [Indian Affairs] officials here [in Ottawa] until I have talked with you at the time of the Chapter. I often heard that the Indians at Sechelt were a rather difficult crowd to handle."[73] Indian Affairs official J. N. Neville was asked to look into the complaints. It does not appear that he spoke to any of the students or the staff members who were accused. He wrote that the individual was "a courteous, well-spoken, well-mannered man." He concluded, "Unless complaints can be specific and charges substantiated, to make accusations which might smear the twenty-nine year record of service in the cause of the Indians themselves, seems irresponsible on the part of the Councillors."[74] This individual was still at the school in 1962, and by 1966, he was working as a supervisor at the Mission, British Columbia, school.[75] Indian Affairs and church officials all chose to treat this as a case in which a few self-seeking agitators had used the band council to make irresponsible and inaccurate allegations to further their own ends.[76] This is typical of the way Aboriginal concerns were dismissed and minimized.

It was largely in response to ongoing Aboriginal pressure that, in the 1990s, a province-wide police investigation into residential school abuse was undertaken. In 1992, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council in British Columbia carried out a study of the impact of residential schooling on their community. The study identified more than 100 people who said they had been either physically or sexually abused at residential school. In November 1994, tribal council representatives presented their findings to members of the Port Alberni Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment.

At that time, the RCMP was involved in an investigation into the activities of Arthur Plint, a former supervisor at the Port Alberni school. The courts were dealing with charges against Bishop Hubert O'Connor, the former principal of the Williams Lake school. Several other former Williams Lake employees were under investigation, as were employees of the Lower Post school on the British Columbia–Yukon border. In the late 1980s, two former employees of the Lytton school had been tried on abuse charges. One was convicted; the other was acquitted. In light of the number of potential cases that the Nuu-Chah-Nulth inquiry might give rise to, the RCMP established the Native Indian Residential School Task Force. The task force commenced its work in 1995. Over the following eight years, it investigated 974 allegations of criminal misconduct.

Four hundred and fifty-three people reported being victimized. Another 245 people were identified as possible victims, meaning that, while there was credible evidence to believe they had been victimized, they had not contacted the police. This suggests that there were nearly 700 potential victims. The task force identified 396 suspects. Complaints came from former students of fifteen of the residential schools in British Columbia. There were 515 alleged sexual assaults (involving 374 victims), 435 alleged physical assaults (involving 223 victims), and 24 other alleged offences (involving 19 victims).

The investigation concluded that one-third of the suspects were dead. Eventually, 148 sexual assault charges and 11 physical assault charges were laid.

The RCMP's final report did not state how many people were charged or convicted as a result of its work. The TRC's review of documentation supplied by the RCMP concludes that the task force led to the prosecution and conviction of three men who had previously been charged and convicted of abusing residential school students (Derek Clarke, Glenn Doughty, and Arthur Plint). Two other individuals, who had never been previously convicted (Gerald Moran and Donald Haddock), were also charged and convicted with abusing residential school students. In three other cases, charges were stayed or the accused were not brought to trial for a variety of other reasons.[77]

The British Columbia cases (some of which, as noted above, predate the RCMP's province-wide inquiry) are described below according to church denomination and, where appropriate, according to school.

Alberni school convictions

Arthur Plint first went to work at the Alberni residential school as a dormitory supervisor in 1948. He left in 1953 to become a postal worker. In 1963, he returned to the school as a supervisor and remained there until 1968. He sexually abused students at the school during both periods of his employment. In 1995, Plint pleaded

guilty to eighteen counts of indecent assault and was sentenced to eleven years in jail. In sentencing Plint, Justice D. A. Hogarth wrote that "so far as the victims of the accused in this matter are concerned, the Indian Residential School System was nothing but a form of institutionalized pedophilia, and the accused, so far as they are concerned, being children at the time, was a sexual terrorist." In 1997, Plint pleaded guilty to an additional seventeen charges of abuse arising from his years at the school. He was sentenced to serve eleven years concurrent to his original sentence.[74] Plint was granted day parole in 2003. At the time, he was eighty-five years old.[75]

Charges were laid against two other former employees of the Alberni school. One of them was Bruce Donald Haddock. Like Plint, Haddock went to work at the Alberni school in 1948. While he was there, he committed sexual assaults against both male and female students. He was charged for these offences in 2003, convicted on four counts of indecent assault, and sentenced to twenty-three months in jail in 2004.[76] In addition to working at the Alberni school, Haddock also worked as a supervisor at the Anglican school at Alert Bay, British Columbia, a position he left in 1952.[77]

David Forde worked as a boys' supervisor at the Alberni school from 1950 to 1960.[78] In 2003, he was charged with four counts of sexual assault, dating back from his time at the school. When he was charged, he was living in Puyallup, Washington.[79] He died in April 2005 before his case came to trial.[80]

Staff convictions at Anglican schools

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was able to identify prosecutions at two Anglican residential schools in British Columbia: the Alert Bay school and the Lytton school.

Alert Bay, 1970

In February 1970, the power engineer at the Alert Bay school, Harry Joseph, was dismissed because he had "entered the senior girls dormitory without authorization and endeavoured to persuade a fourteen year old female student to leave the dormitory with him. When the girl refused, Mr. Joseph then interfered with two other girls by removing bed covers and fondling them." The matter was referred to the Mounted Police.[81] Joseph pleaded guilty to a charge of indecent assault on May 13, 1970. At the trial, the school principal testified to Joseph's previous good behaviour. Joseph was given a suspended sentence.[82]

Lytton

The prosecutions at the Lytton school reveal a callous pattern of behaviour in which abuse was excused and covered up in an effort to protect both the system and the

perpetrators. In February 1968, Principal Anthony Harding accepted the resignation of a staff member. He thanked the staff member for his past services and wrote that he trusted that he would "soon find a type of employment that will give greater scope to your undoubted abilities."[67] In reality, Harding had forced the man to resign after finding him in bed with a thirteen-year-old female student. Harding had previously warned him and the student about the dangers of the emotional attachment that he thought was forming between them. In this instance, the girl said the staff member had forced "her (while he was under the influence of alcohol) to have intercourse with him." Principal Harding informed the British Columbia director of student residences for Indian Affairs of the manner in which he had handled the matter. There is no record to indicate that the police were contacted. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's file review has not located any documents in which Indian Affairs took issue with Harding's approach in this case.[68]

A few months before this individual was fired, Derek Clarke started working at the Lytton school. Clarke had completed Grade Eight and had spent one term as a student in the St. Christopher's School for Emotionally Disturbed Children in North Vancouver. Prior to coming to Lytton, he had been a child-care worker at another Anglican Church institution (the source documents do not name the institution). He had been asked to leave that institution because of his lack of qualifications, but, even as he was letting Clarke go, his supervisor arranged for him to get a job in a similar position at the Anglican-run residential school in Lytton. In what may have been a reflection of the difficulty that residential schools had in recruiting staff, the Lytton administration hired Clarke without a job interview or a review of his references.[69] This was in 1966, when the Anglican Church was already well aware of the risks in hiring employees who had not been screened; as noted earlier, the church had already initiated its own 'do-not-hire' list in 1960.[70]

At Lytton, Clarke was the junior/intermediate boys' supervisor. He used his authority and control over the dormitory to initiate a reign of sexual terror. In May 1973, a teacher at the local elementary school attended by students from the Lytton residence overheard a group of boys talking about a supervisor "doing things to boys." She took the information to her principal, Joseph Chute. He contacted Anthony Harding, who was then the Lytton residence administrator. Harding and Chute questioned a number of boys, who spoke of the sexual abuse they had been subjected to by Clarke. Because the abuse had taken place at the residence, which was supervised by Harding, and not at his school, Chute said he did not believe he had a responsibility to report it to the police.

Harding confronted Clarke, telling him that if he did not resign, the case would be turned over to the police.[71] On May 20, 1973, Derek Clarke resigned his position at the Lytton residence as a child-care worker. In his letter of resignation, he stated that his reasons for resigning were "personal in nature."[72] In accepting the resignation, Harding

award, "Your past services in the field of provincial Child Care have been appreciated and we trust that your personal problems will soon be cleared up."[13] Clarke eventually found work as a janitor at the Central City Mission in Vancouver.[14]

Harding never contacted Indian Affairs or the police. Harding did inform Anglican Church officials of Clarke's behaviour and of the action he had taken in response. The boys' parents were not informed of what had happened, and no attempt was made at the time to provide the boys with any form of counselling or support.[15]

Fifteen years would pass before Clarke would be held to account for the abuse he inflicted. In April 1988, he was convicted on eight counts of buggery and six counts of indecent assault, all committed while he was a dormitory supervisor at the Lytton school. He also pleaded guilty to three charges of buggery committed at the Central City Mission. He was given a twelve-year prison sentence. The trial judge concluded that Clarke was responsible for at least 140 alleged sexual encounters. The total number, he said, might be as high as 300. The victims were between nine and eleven years of age. One of his victims committed suicide months before the trial started.[16] Additional allegations about Clarke's behaviour at Lytton emerged in 1990. The following year he was charged on four additional counts and given an additional two-year sentence.[17]

The year after Clarke's 1988 conviction, Anthony Harding, the former administrator of the Lytton residences, who had been informed of Clarke's behaviour and had forced him to resign in 1973, went on trial himself. He was charged with three counts of gross indecency and one charge of buggery. The charges related to events that were alleged to have occurred between 1969 and 1976.[18] One of the assaults was alleged to have involved a former student, who said that he had lived in Harding's home under a fostering arrangement in 1973. Among other things, it was alleged that Harding had assaulted a student after the student informed Harding of the sexual abuse of boys at the school by Clarke.[19] Harding was acquitted.[20]

In a 1998 civil case in which former students sued Canada and the Anglican Church for damages, witnesses testified that Harding, who lived in rooms adjoining the Lytton residences, had also provided senior students with access to alcohol in his room before sexually assaulting them. Justice James Dillon of the British Columbia Supreme Court noted that although Harding had been tried and acquitted on sexual assault charges, she accepted the evidence regarding Harding's behaviour. She further concurred that the evidence explained Harding's decision not to report Clarke to the police or to Indian Affairs.[21] (Harding had died in 1992.)[22]

Roman Catholic cases in British Columbia

Criminal and civil courts have confirmed that students were sexually abused at six Roman Catholic–operated schools in British Columbia after 1940. Three people

[illegible]

Northwest Territories

In the Northwest Territories, there have been abuse convictions in relation to two residences: Grollier Hall in Inuvik and the Anglican Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson. Three of the men convicted of abuse at Grollier Hall were also convicted of abusing students in schools in other provinces.

Grollier Hall

Grollier Hall opened in September 1959.[107] As the Roman Catholic hostel in the newly established community of Inuvik in the Northwest Territories (NWT), it had an initial capacity for 240 students.[108] It was administered by the Roman Catholic Church until 1985. The next government administered it until 1997, when it ceased to operate as a residence for public school students, and was transferred to Aurora College.[109]

The following men worked at Grollier Hall as student supervisors:

- Joseph Jean Louis Comeau: 1959 to 1963[110]
- Martin Houston: 1960 to 1962[111]
- George Maczynski: 1960 to 1962[112]
- Paul Lemire: 1962 to 1979[113]

While they were employed at Grollier Hall, each of these men sexually assaulted students who were living in the residence. Their collective employment records make it clear that there was at least one sexual abuser on staff for each of the residence's first twenty years of operation. The first of these men to be prosecuted was Martin Houston.

On August 15, 1962, Martin Houston was arrested in Ottawa on a charge of distributing obscene literature (handwritten notes that he left in public washrooms, soliciting sexual partners). He told the police he was a teacher at a federal day school in Inuvik. In fact, he was a dormitory supervisor at Grollier Hall. He pleaded guilty to the charge and was sentenced to twenty-one days in jail. In the course of their investigation, police discovered that he was staying in a hotel in the company of a fifteen-year-old boy from the Northwest Territories.

The police investigation revealed that the boy had been enrolled at Grollier Hall. Houston had been sexually abusing the boy since December 1960. Prior to returning to his home community for the summer of 1962, Houston had convinced the boy to meet him in Norman Wells, Northwest Territories. From there, the two had travelled to Ottawa.[114] Further investigation indicated that Houston had been sexually abusing a number of boys for at least two years.[115]

Houston pleaded guilty to charges of buggery and gross sexual indecency, involving five students, in 1962. That same year, he was declared a dangerous sex offender and given an indefinite sentence.[116]

In reviewing the case, Ben Sivertz, director of the northern administration branch of the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, wrote:

> I find it difficult to believe that this could take place in such close proximity to a group of young teenage boys without arousing suspicion and comment that would come to the attention of the hostel administrator—if the administrator was exercising the kind of supervision over the officers of the hostel we have a right to expect.[157]

The administrators of Grollier Hall had been suspicious of Houston, who had come to work at Grollier Hall in the fall of 1960 as the senior boys' residence supervisor.[158] Oblate Father Max Ruyant stated that he had decided to dismiss Houston in June 1962, having concluded Houston was "not a good influence on the boys." During the Royal Canadian Mounted Police investigation, Ruyant told the police that Houston had "dealt out excessive punishment for minor behaviour which punishment usually consisted of strappings." Ruyant also suspected Houston had "carried on indecently with the senior boys." On two occasions, boys had been found to be in his room past midnight. The boys were supposed to have been in their own beds at 10:15. The Sister of Charity responsible for the junior boys had complained to Ruyant several times that she believed Houston had been "acting indecently with the senior boys." On one occasion, she said, she had heard Houston apparently taking a bath with a boy.[159] It should be noted that despite these concerns, Houston was allowed to work at the residence until the end of the 1961–62 school year. In his statement to the police, Houston said that, rather than being fired, he had resigned from the school because "I thought I was becoming too friendly with the boys and did not want to keep on the relations with them because I realized then the mistake it was and the damage it could do to the children."[160] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's file review has not located any documents demonstrating that Houston was actually dismissed or had resigned prior to his being arrested. The evidence in this case makes it clear that the school administrators were aware that Houston was engaged in unacceptable behaviour, although they may not have known the extent of it. Despite this knowledge, they failed to intervene in a timely and effective manner.

In the summer of 1962, Northern Affairs official Sivertz instructed a departmental official to meet with Bishop Paul Piché of the Roman Catholic mission at Fort Smith to discuss the situation at Grollier Hall. Sivertz's instructions for this meeting underscored the fundamental weakness of the government position in relationship to the churches. While the government expected that qualified people would be employed and that they would be well supervised, it was not prepared to provide the funding needed to make sure that its expectations were met. Since the churches were prepared to manage the hostels for less money than it would cost the government to operate

them, the government was unwilling to place too many demands on the churches. Sivertz warned the government official investigating conditions at Grollier Hall that:

> Care must be taken in your examination of this problem, particularly in discussions with the Church authorities to avoid any action or suggestion which would alter, or appear to alter, the degree of responsibility which rests with the management (Church authorities) for the proper operation of contract hostels. In the first place we do not have the resources to look after the details involved in day to day operations. Secondly, and perhaps more important, is the fact that it would be unreasonable to expect the Church authorities to manage the hostels in an efficient manner unless they are permitted considerable flexibility in matters of detail such as the recruitment and hiring of hostel staff. On the other hand, the hostels are an integral part of our school system. They are owned by the government and all reasonable operating expenses are paid by the government.[161]

David Searle, a lawyer in private practice who prosecuted Houston on behalf of the federal government, recommended that, to ensure that "single, male homosexuals" were not hired as supervisors, only married couples should be hired to work in these positions. If that was not possible, he recommended that the Mounted Police conduct a background check "on each and every single man and woman who accepts such a position of authority over youngsters."[162] While Searle was correct in drawing attention to the need for improved screening, his letter reveals the limitations of official thinking of the era. At the time of his writing, all homosexual acts in Canada were illegal, and those people suspected of being homosexual had difficulty finding and keeping employment as teachers. But Searle—and others—was making no distinction between homosexuality and pedophilia. His preference for hiring married couples reveals a naïve belief that married individuals would not abuse children (or, more likely, a belief that married men would not abuse male children). The focus on homosexuals suggests that homosexual abuse of children was viewed as being worse than heterosexual abuse. In reality, the threat to students came from the behaviour of those who preyed sexually on children—pedophiles of any sexual orientation.

According to Ruyant, there had been a limited background check on Houston: he had received a recommendation from the Oblate father provincial in Winnipeg and from a former schoolteacher.[163] Houston was born in the Pine Falls region of Manitoba in 1937 and educated in Powerview, the community that borders the Fort Alexander Reserve in Manitoba.[164] According to Houston, in his youth, he had been sent to a reform school. There, he told the police, "the older lads had committed indecent acts on him."[165] He later attended the Oblate-run St. John's Junior Seminary on the Fort Alexander Reserve from 1956 to 1958. The Oblate *Indian Record*, a publication that reported on Oblate work among Aboriginal people, indicated in November

1957 that the twenty-year-old Houston was a "Non-Treaty" Grade Nine student at the seminary.[166]

The seminary had opened as a boarding school in 1954.[167] Despite its name, St. John's was not a seminary, but, in fact, a private high school for Aboriginal students, run by the Oblates in the rectory on the Fort Alexander Reserve.[168] Indian Affairs had been initially unwilling to provide funding to the school, but from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s, it did provide tuition supports for First Nations students at the school.[169]

After leaving St. John's, Houston went to work at the Oblate-run residential school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, as a supervisor of young boys for the 1958–59 school year.[170] From there, he went to Grollier Hall.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) investigation conducted after Houston's arrest in 1962 concluded that while he was a student at St. John's, Houston had, to use the words of one investigator, engaged in "homosexual conduct."[171] The report is not clear as to whether Houston was being abused by either staff or students, was abusing fellow students, or was engaging in consensual relations with fellow students at St. John's. However, of his later time at Kamsack, the RCMP concluded that Houston was "known to have instigated and carried out acts of gross indecency and buggery with at least three Indian youths, two of whom were 15 at the time and one 18 years of age at the time."[172]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's file review has not located any documents indicating that there was further investigation into these allegations. Neither has it located any documents to suggest that counselling was provided to any of the students who would have been abused by Houston at the Kamsack school.

Searle, the lawyer who prosecuted Houston, believed that if a proper investigation had been carried out prior to Houston's hiring, his "previous homosexual conduct would have been easily uncovered."[173] It is clear that there was no significant screening process in place.

In the fall of 1962, psychiatric examinations were conducted on five of the Grollier Hall boys who had been abused by Houston,[174] but no documents have been located that demonstrate that the students or their families were provided with counselling after those assessments. However, the fact that they were assessed demonstrates that by 1962, there was recognition that such abuse could have serious traumatic impact on the victims.

After his conviction in 1962, Houston spent nine years in jail and was released on full parole in 1971.[175] In 1975, he violated his parole and was convicted of three counts of indecent assault (these assaults did not have a residential school connection).[176] He was given two years' supervised probation and was hospitalized in the Selkirk, Manitoba, mental hospital for seven months.[177] In later years, he made two unsuccessful attempts to become a Roman Catholic priest. On both occasions, he was asked to leave the seminary in which he was studying, due to what were described as

"behaviourial issues."[178] However, his third attempt was successful. Against the advice of Catholic orders in Alberta and the Northwest Territories, he was accepted into a seminary in Manitoba.[179] He was ordained in 1990.[180] When Northwest Territories Bishop Denis Croteau discovered that Houston had become a priest, he contacted Manitoba Bishop Antoine Hacault to see if he was aware of Houston's past. According to Croteau, Hacault told him "he was aware of it but that 'we cannot hold someone prisoner of his past if he has not done anything reprehensible in the past 25 to 30 years.'"[181] In Manitoba, Houston served as a priest in Lac du Bonnet and Carman. In both communities, he generated numerous complaints from parishioners, who found him unstable and verbally abusive. He resigned from his position with the Carman parish when the *Edmonton Journal* publicized his background in 2002.[182]

Two years later, he was back in court, facing charges that stemmed from his time at Grollier Hall. In 2004, Houston pleaded guilty to one count of sodomy and two counts of indecent assault at Grollier Hall in the early 1960s. The forty-two-year delay between the acts of abuse and the convictions underscores the failure of Northern Affairs, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Mounted Police to conduct a thorough investigation in 1962. Houston was sentenced to three years' probation, the Crown attorney taking the position that the 1962 assaults would not have added to his earlier sentence if they had been included in the earlier prosecution.[183] He died in Winnipeg in August 2010.[184]

Joseph Jean Louis Comeau worked alongside Martin Houston. Comeau, who worked as a bank manager during the day, was a part-time supervisor at Grollier Hall from 1959 to 1965.[185] Although concerns had been raised after Houston's arrest about the need to ensure proper supervision at Grollier Hall, Comeau's abuse of students was either undetected or tolerated. It was not until 1998, thirty-three years after he left Grollier Hall, that he pleaded guilty to two indecent assaults that took place between 1962 and 1963. The victims had been eleven and thirteen years of age at the time. Shortly before his 1998 conviction for the assaults in Inuvik, he had been convicted of committing similar assaults in British Columbia (although not in a residential school). For the Inuvik assaults, he was sentenced to one year in jail on each charge, to be served concurrently at the completion of his two-year sentence for the British Columbia offences.[186] In 2003, Comeau was once more arrested and charged with five counts of sexual assault.[187] Comeau died that year, before he could be brought to trial on these final charges.[188]

The year after Comeau left Grollier Hall, George Maczynski went to work at the residence. In his career, he worked at both Grollier Hall and the Lower Post school in northern British Columbia. He started at Lower Post, which drew much of its enrolment from northern British Columbia and Yukon. Maczynski worked as an instructor there from 1956 to 1958.[189] He then worked as a welfare officer for the Yukon government. In 1964, he was in a car accident that left him permanently injured.[190] He

returned to work with the Yukon government, but his performance was found to be unsatisfactory. He was reportedly prone to "violent emotional outbursts and generally behaved in a very unprofessional manner." He was suspended from his job in October 1965.[191] By 1966, he had found employment at Grollier Hall as a supervisor.[192] He appears to have lasted there only one year. The last payroll record the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could locate for Maczynski was from 1967.[193]

In 1973, Maczynski returned to the Lower Post area, where he had worked in the 1950s. There, he organized a summer camp for young boys. Later that year, Maczynski was convicted and sentenced to two years in jail for "molesting" boys at the camp. This is the first record the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has located of his being prosecuted. After serving ten months in jail, Maczynski was paroled, and he returned once more to Lower Post in August 1974. After consulting "with several professional colleagues," E. Morriset, the administrator of the Lower Post residence, hired Maczynski in September 1974 to work as the residence's night watchman. He stated that Maczynski was on-site only from ten in the evening until six in the morning, and residence staff members were in the dormitories during those hours.[194] In October 1974, Harry Lavallee, the field supervisor for Native Courtworkers in British Columbia, protested and drew the hiring to the attention of Indian Affairs.[195] Morriset defended his decision, writing that Maczynski now lived by himself in a cabin about a mile (1.6 kilometres) from the residence. He had returned to the community and done "a great amount of volunteer welfare work for the local Indians."[196] Maczynski resigned from this position in November 1974.[197]

In 1993, he was charged with sexually assaulting students when he worked at the Lower Post school in the 1950s.[198] Two years later, he was convicted and sentenced to sixteen years in jail for committing and attempting to commit indecent assault and buggery on students at Lower Post.[199] In 1996, he was given a seven-year sentence for sexual assaults committed on two Dawson City children in the Yukon in the 1960s. The assaults would have been committed when he was a social welfare officer. The sentence was to be served concurrently with the Lower Post sentences.[200] In 1997, Maczynski pleaded guilty to additional charges of indecent assault, gross indecency, and buggery arising from the period in the mid-1960s when he worked at Grollier Hall. He was sentenced to four years of incarceration. That sentence was to be served after the original sixteen-year sentence had been served.[201] Maczynski died in jail in 1998.[202]

Maczynski was not the only person on the Lower Post staff to be charged with sexually abusing students. Oblate Brother Ben Garand worked as a boys' supervisor at the school in the 1950s. In June 1993, he was charged with four counts of sexually assaulting male students. At the time of his arrest, Garand was already in jail. He had been convicted and jailed in 1993 on a variety of non-residential school charges of sexual assault. Garand died in jail before he could be tried on the charges relating to his time at Lower Post.[203]

There are reports that in the 1950s, complaints about Maczynski's and Garand's abuse of students had been made to the principal of the school, Yvon Levaque. According to the complainants, no action was taken at the time.[204]

Maczynski left Grollier Hall in 1967.[205] That same year, Paul Leroux started work there as the senior boys' supervisor. He remained at the hostel until 1979.[206] Prior to that time, he had worked at the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school. (His time at that school is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.)[207] While he was living in Inuvik, Leroux also served as a justice of the peace and a judge in the family juvenile court, coached numerous sports teams, and volunteered as a Big Brother.[208] He was, in short, a person of some authority in the community.

In 1979, Leroux was convicted of having a two-year-long sexual relationship with a fifteen-year-old male resident of Grollier Hall and sentenced to four months in jail. He later sought and received a pardon for that offence.[209] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has not encountered any evidence to indicate that after this conviction, any further investigation was carried out at that time to determine if he had assaulted other students at either Grollier Hall or the Beauval school. It is reasonable to expect that such investigations should have been made. Certainly, such investigations were carried out more than a decade earlier, after the arrest of Martin Houston in 1962.

By 1980, Leroux had found work with the Employment Development Branch of the federal government. He left that position in 1981 to take a position with the Canadian Human Rights Commission.[210] He worked with the commission until 1997. In that year, complaints from former Grollier Hall residents led to a police investigation. When police searched Leroux's Vancouver residence, they found a large collection of child pornography.[211] He was arrested in June 1997 and charged with thirty-two sexual assaults involving fifteen victims between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.[212] Leroux was convicted of attempted buggery, attempted indecent assault, three counts of indecent assault, and four counts of gross indecency. He was given a ten-year sentence.[213] He was paroled after serving less than four years of his sentence. In 2003, he was arrested and charged with eleven additional counts of indecent assault and gross indecency.[214] The Crown stayed the prosecution on these charges in 2004. The rationale for this decision provided to the Mounted Police was the reluctance of certain complainants to testify at the preliminary inquiry and a "re-assessment of the prospects of conviction."[215]

There is evidence to suggest that students did complain about Leroux's behaviour while he was still working in the school. In the 1990s, a former Grollier Hall resident stated that when he was living at the hall in the 1970s, he had informed a guidance counsellor at Samuel Hearne Secondary School that Leroux was taking nude photographs of students living at the residence. No records made available to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada indicate that the individual reported such information, if he received it, to authorities. According to the student, the counsellor

instead instigated a sexual relationship with him. The counsellor was tried twice on these charges, but in both cases, the juries were unable to agree on a verdict.[109]

In late 1997, the victims of sexual assault at Grollier Hall formed a support group, under the leadership of Harold Cook and Lawrence Norbert. Cook, who had been a star athlete at the school and a member of the Territorial Experimental Ski Training program, referred to the school as "Sing Sing," saying he "skied to get away from the residence." He said the students had remained silent for so many years for two reasons: shame and doubts that anyone would believe them.[110]

The impact of the abuses of the 1960s never went away. In a letter to the court, one of Martin Houston's victims wrote, "Every day since this happened, I remember what he did to me. I drink to try to forget what happened to me, but drinking only makes me angry." One former victim wrote in his victim-impact statement that he had often contemplated suicide. The victim said that the memory of the abuse had led others to kill themselves.[111]

Fleming Hall

In two unrelated events, two men who worked at Fleming Hall, the Anglican hostel in Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories, were convicted of having inappropriate relations with young people who attended the local day school. The Northern Canada Power Commission (NCPC) operated the power and heating plants at Fleming Hall.[112] The company had an agreement to board engineering staff at the hostel.[113] In May 1963, NCPC employee William Hamilton apparently was staying at the hostel.[114] At some time between then and March 1964, Hamilton was arrested, charged, and convicted of engaging in sexual acts with male students attending the local day school. He was sentenced to three years in jail.[115]

Donald Perdue started work as the cook at Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson in January 1963.[116] On March 12, 1964, he was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of juveniles—he had been found swimming naked with a number of juveniles.[117] Initially, Anglican Church officials who operated the residence took the position that there were "extenuating circumstances" that justified keeping Perdue on staff.[118] David Searle, the lawyer who had prosecuted Martin Houston, wrote a letter of complaint to the Justice Department, recommending that it seek to have Perdue dismissed. He said that, based on police reports and "statements from the girls [likely the juveniles Perdue was swimming with] Mr. Perdue has tendencies towards sexual exploration with young girls."[119] After reviewing the evidence presented at the trial, T. F. Jones, the Anglican director of residential schools, concluded that Perdue should never have been hired.[120] According to his application for employment with the federal Department of Transport in 1965, he left work at the hostel in July 1964.[121]

[illegible]

During the residential school period, Nunavut was still part of the Northwest Territories. In the 1980s, there was an extensive police investigation into abuse at the Roman Catholic Turquoise Hall in Igloolik (formerly Chesterfield Inlet), which had closed in 1969.[xx]

Turquoise Hall

In the summer of 1991, approximately 130 former students of the Turquoise Hall residence attended a reunion in Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories. The event had been organized by three former students: Pilitu (also known as "Peter") Irniq, Ian S Attagutsiak, and Marion Tungilik.[xxi] In 1991, at a hearing in Rankin Inlet of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Tungilik had spoken about his experiences of being sexually abused at the Chesterfield Inlet residence. He was one of the first former students to speak out publicly about such abuse.[xxii] In a later statement, he wrote:

> I was really undecided as to whether I should openly speak about it because it was not done. I was tormented inside because I knew it was the right thing to do and I felt I did not have the courage or the strength. I felt I was going to die if I said anything publicly. But luckily I was able to spend some time out on the land, not by choice. I got lost out on the land for three days just by myself. I was okay. It was in the late fall, November. But those three days alone gave me enough time to make up my mind. Yes, I'm going to do this no matter what.[xxiii]

According to Irniq, the three former students decided to hold a reunion because they felt they "had to do something to restore our health and history and pride."[xxiv]

Also in attendance at the reunion were representatives of the government of the NWT, and members of the Oblates and the Sisters of Charity, the two Roman Catholic orders that had been involved in the operation of the residence and the day school associated with it. Many of the people at the reunion spoke of the physical, sexual, and emotional abuse they had experienced at the residence. According to news reports, Bishop Reynold Fenton said that it was "intolerable" that sexual abuse had taken place at the school. The reunion led forty-nine former students to petition the government of the Northwest Territories to hold a public inquiry into the operation of the facility.[xxv]

Although no public inquiry was held, Yellowknife lawyer Katherine Peterson was appointed to carry out an investigation. At the same time, the Mounted Police undertook a criminal investigation into the school. Two officers spent over a year investigating 111 allegations of physical assault and 70 allegations of sexual assault. Peterson

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] and Reconciliation Commission [illegible] to provide some clarity as to how records like testimonies at [illegible] School and the Grace Goodhead School

The Irish Military course

In 1960, former students of the Irish Military school organised a reunion that attracted 100 people. Many of them spoke to a specially planned film of the reunion and several shared their "sad experiences at the school."[1] The organiser of the reunion said:

> [illegible] were often quite traumatising. Several were physically abused. Almost all of them were physically abused by other boys, sometimes [illegible] abused. Sometimes it happened [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] by the boys' mothers [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] county, etc. etc.

> [illegible] were often quite traumatising. Several were physically abused. Almost all of them were physically abused by a variety of ways, including [illegible]. Sometimes it happened [illegible] by the [illegible] family. Sometimes it was by [illegible] county. Sometimes it was by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the situation was far more dire. Hollefld had been convicted of having committed common assault on one of the female students. Despite this, he still was not fired.[174] There was more to come. In July of that year, Hollefld was convicted on two charges of buggery and one of attempted buggery, and sentenced to two years in jail. The record does not indicate who the victims were, but the complainant in the case was the new Gordon's school principal, H. L. Hanson.[175]

Hollefld's legacy was devastating. In 1987, a student at the Gordon's school was diagnosed with venereal disease. Under the questioning of a Mounted Police officer, he revealed that he had been sodomized by the boys' supervisor, William McNab, a nineteen-year-old former student. McNab was arrested, tried, and sent to jail for six months. McNab claimed that, in the past, he had been abused by Hollefld. Indian agent R. S. Davis was of the opinion that "this thing has been going on in the school for years." He had taken statements from some of the boys and concluded that "the whole school is polluted [sic] with it." The church authorities, he wrote, "have fallen down badly in the upbringing of these children, by engaging people who are misfits." He thought the problem might "date back to the time when Mr. Frayling was Principal. It might have been found out by one of the principals and hushed up, until today."[176] Frayling had served as principal from 1930 to 1944. (At the time of his retirement, he was seventy-four years old.)[177]

In responding to the criticism, H. A. Akkerwood, the superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, pointed out the difficulties in recruiting qualified staff. All around Gordon's school, he wrote, "rural teachers are receiving twice as much as we have been able to offer. I have personally interviewed a number of applicants and have done my utmost to secure them for this school, but our low salary scale has apparently discouraged them from joining our staff."[178]

Through the mid-1950s, Gordon's was consumed by controversy. On April 30, 1955, a new principal was appointed. That same day, two young girls ran away and spent the night with two young men on the Gordon's Reserve. The men were arrested, prosecuted for contributing to juvenile delinquency, and jailed for four months. The girls were expelled. The principal blamed the problems at the school on the previous administration.

> Since both girls are now here at home the general opinion in the school is that we can do nothing of any importance to to anyone who disobeys school rules. This does not have any serious effect on records for it is difficult to imagine any school with less discipline than existed here on May 1st as a result of the two year policy of 'free expression' on the part of the children.[179]

In November 1955, the principal catalogued some of the school's recent problems. A school supervisor had impregnated a student, an act for which he had been prosecuted and fined. (The principal's letter does not indicate the specific offence for which

the individual was convicted.) Another school employee had been fired for bringing men from the reserve into her room at the school at night. The school's farm instructor not only ran a bootlegging establishment out of his home, but he had also facilitated his son's affair with one of the teachers, by helping her slip in and out of the school without detection. The affair resulted in her becoming pregnant. Another male supervisor, named Courtney, had been sent to jail for "tampering with some of the Indian boys in his charge."[1174]

In January 1956, three girls alleged that the Gordon's principal had touched them improperly. He denied the charges, reported them to the bishop, and demanded an investigation.[1175] It was carried out by the head teacher, who concluded that the allegations were unfounded.[1176] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's file review has not located any documents indicating that the allegations, or the teacher's investigation and report, were ever further reported to either Indian Affairs or the police. After being cleared by the member of his staff, the principal announced his resignation. In doing so, he expressed his frustration with Aboriginal people, saying he had long since concluded that they "do not want to be helped and every effort I have made has been blocked on the reserve. They want their children clothed and fed at no cost to themselves and they are not very interested in whether they get an education or not." There was "no low trick to which Indians will not subscribe to further their own ends."[1177]

In the month that he announced his resignation, the principal had to report on the case of a student who, he said, was "imposing himself sexually upon little boys in the school." He wrote that he had noticed a significant change in the boy's behaviour over the previous six months, saying he had become "morose and sullen and his work in class has fallen off. He has isolated himself from all his former friends among the boys and seems to always be keeping himself aloof."[1178]

It also appears that an employee who was suspected of developing an inappropriate relationship with students was allowed to transfer to a different school. In 1957, a supervisor at the Gordon's school asked to be sent to the Carcross school in the Yukon. Henry Cook, the superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, helped arrange the move. At the time, he wrote to the staff member, saying that he had spoken with the principal about the problems the staff member had recently encountered at the Gordon's school that had led to his request for a transfer. Somewhat cryptically, Cook wrote,

> All I can say is that it is unfortunate but understandable. One can, at times, be too easy with youngsters for their own good. Having once established an easy-going routine with a group of lads it is impossible to successfully alter things. The only worthwhile result from an unsuccessful experiment is knowledge not to repeat the same procedure and at your next appointment you'll know to be strict perhaps from the very first.[1179]

After the staff member left for Carcross, J. J. Johnstone took over as principal of Gordon's. He concluded that the staff member had been having "immoral relationships with some of the boys" at Gordon's, and passed on his information to Cook. As a result, the Carcross administration was instructed to make sure that the staff member "was removed from direct contact with boys and his Principal was warned to watch out for any signs of his resuming his homosexual practices."[284] Given the concerns that existed at the time, this measure was inadequate.

The employee in question was dismissed from Carcross by 1961 and placed on the Anglican Church's "confidential character code listing as being unfit for further employment with the administration." In writing about the issue in 1961, Principal Johnstone said there had been two reasons for not taking legal action in relation to the employee's behaviour at the school: the hearsay and circumstantial nature of the evidence, and the "resultant unfortunate publicity and effects upon the children concerned."[285] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's file review has not located any documents indicating that the employee's behaviour was communicated to either Indian Affairs or the police. There is also no record that any services were provided to the students who had been abused.

Principal Johnstone faced ongoing problems at the school. In 1958, he sought treatment for a fourteen-year-old boy who had been caught on three occasions "attempting a form of intercourse with younger boys." Johnstone thought the boy either was hoping to be discovered or did not care if his activities were discovered.[286]

In 1968, William Peniston Starr was appointed director of the Gordon Residence. It was a position he held until 1984.[287] Starr had previously been the principal of the Anglican school at Fort George in Québec, and on the staff of the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta.[288] In 1956, he had worked as a physical training instructor at the Gleichen school in southwestern Alberta. He left the school after an unidentified conflict arose between him and the senior boys. According to a letter from Indian Affairs official W. P. E. Pugh, the conflict centred on the activities of the "gymnasium tumbling team he had been training." The conflict was resolved by transferring Starr to another school.[289] During his residential school career, Starr collected numerous positive evaluations. An Anglican assessment of his work from early 1954 noted, "Nothing but good reports of this worker from Mr. Pugh, the Bishop and the Cadet authorities. Under his leadership the Cadets did remarkably well at the Annual Inspection in Strathmore and his gymnasium team goes all over the country putting on demonstrations."[290] Later that year, it was thought that it "might be a good move to make him vice-Principal or Assistant Principal when a new man is appointed."[291] Under Starr's administration at Gordon's, the residence became well known for its cultural and sporting organizations. The Gordon Dancers, for example, travelled across Europe. The school also had a highly regarded boxing team. Starr resigned in December 1984. At the final meeting of the Gordon Student Residence Advisory Board, he was thanked

by the chair of the board for "his many years of hard work." He, in turn, thanked the board for its "moral support."[292]

Throughout his time at the school, Starr had been using his position to sexually exploit students. He instituted a system of bribery and intimidation to establish a regime under which he could sexually assault students. Those who refused to participate were punished through the denial of privileges.[293] He was arrested on March 5, 1992, on twelve charges relating to sexual and child abuse, all arising from the years that he worked at the Gordon Residence. According to an internal government document at the time, "the department had not received any complaints relating to sexual or other abuse" during the time that Starr was employed at the residence.[294] On February 2, 1993, Starr pleaded guilty to ten counts of sexually assaulting ten boys between the ages of seven and fourteen while he was the administrator of the Gordon Residence.[295] He was sentenced to four and a half years in jail.[296]

Under Starr's administration, there had also been continual staff and student problems. In 1972, a thirteen-year-old boy who had been convicted of indecent assault was committed to the care of the Saskatchewan Minister of Social Services for a one-year period, with the understanding that he "be sent to the Gordon's Residential School to be with his brother and sisters."[297] In 1975, Starr reprimanded a residence employee, instructing him not to take students out of the residence, "whether it be for weekend visits, days off or miscellaneous activities," without his approval. The employee was also forbidden to have students in his private staff room. Starr had issued these orders in light of "unfavourable gossip" regarding the staff members' "drinking and homosexual activities" among students in the Yorkton area.[298]

The problems that Starr had fostered at Gordon's continued after his resignation. In October 1988, a girl complained that the night watchman had made improper sexual advances to her while she was suspended from the school.[299] He was suspended from his job and convicted of touching a person under the age of fourteen for sexual purposes and setting traps to cause bodily harm. He was fined $300.[300]

There were ongoing problems with staff members' losing control of their tempers in dealing with students in the residence. Between November 1990 and March 1991, one staff member cuffed two boys on the back of the head for running away; grabbed a boy by the neck and pushed him down into a sofa for deliberately missing the school bus; struck a boy on the side of the head with a closed hand; and slapped two boys in the head, pushing one into a locker. He was sent a disciplinary letter and required to seek assistance through the employee assistance program.[301] In April 1991, a father complained of the way one of the child-care workers was treating students. He claimed that the staff member was using the bigger boys to physically discipline the smaller ones; was speaking of the boys' parents, particularly their mothers, in disparaging terms; had come to work intoxicated and attempted to get some of the students

drunk; and had refused to let students play pool unless they were willing to play for money.[302] In another incident, a staff member hit a student with his crutch.[303]

Beauval

The Gordon's school story is a clear example of government and church failure to hire qualified staff, and to ensure the protection of children. It is far from being the only example of extensive abuse of students in Saskatchewan.

A 1993 thesis on the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, included reports from former students of two incidents of sexual abuse. According to one former student, a boys' supervisor was fired from the Anglican school in about 1943 for sexually molesting a boy. A former student of the Catholic school at Onion Lake said that an Oblate father impregnated one of the students, who was sent home to have the child.[304] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's file review has not located any additional documents related to either of these incidents.

In 2004, Norbert Dufault, the former principal of the Beauval school, was sentenced to two years in jail for sexually assaulting eight young girls during the 1950s and 1960s. The assaults took place when the Oblate priest was the parish priest at the remote Dene community of Dillon, Saskatchewan.[305]

Dufault became the principal of the Beauval school in 1963. Many of the girls he had assaulted in Dillon were also sent to Beauval. When one of these girls discovered that Dufault had arranged to have her younger sister see him after class, she confronted him. She told him that if he assaulted her sister, she would publicize the assaults that had taken place at Dillon. The girl's stand saved her sister from assault, but led to her own dismissal from the school, cutting short her education.[306]

When he left Beauval in 1965, Dufault continued to work in northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In the later years of his career, he worked in southern Manitoba and in Winnipeg.[307] In 1990, an Oblate superior confronted him with allegations regarding his activities at Dillon in the 1950s. According to Dufault's lawyer, the priest acknowledged the allegations to be true. At this point, again according to Dufault's lawyer, the Oblates removed him from active duty and placed him in a residence in Lorette, Manitoba. He lived there until his trial in 2004.[308] In 2011, the Oblate publication *Info Lacombe* published a two-page profile on Dufault that mentioned the years he spent in Dillon and Beauval, emphasizing the personal sacrifices he had made in his career. No mention was made of his convictions.[309]

Dufault was not the only abuser who worked at the Beauval school in the 1960s. From 1959 to 1967, Paul Leroux worked as a supervisor at the school. There, he directed a boys' choir; played a key role in the development of intramural hockey, and competitive fastball and softball teams; and coached the Beauval Warriors to

a regional hockey championship.[310] The choir, known as the "Beauval Indian Boys," recorded an album under Leroux's direction.[311] (After leaving Beauval, Leroux worked at the Grollier Hall residence in Inuvik, in the Northwest Territories. His career at that residence is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.)

In September 2011, Leroux was charged with abusing boys during the time that he worked at Beauval.[312] In November 2013, he was convicted of molesting fourteen boys at the school on charges of indecent assault and gross indecency.[313] He was sentenced in December 2013 to three years in prison.[314] He was paroled in February 2015.[315]

Kamsack

Not all abuse was sexual. In May 1965, the nurse at the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school reported that at least seven students had been burned by the boys' supervisor, an R. Jubinville. The burns were on their arms and hands and had been inflicted with a lighter. The school principal, E. Turenne, concluded that "these incidents reveal a definite sign of sadism on the part of this man" and recommended that he be discharged.[316] Jubinville was discharged the day after the incident was drawn to the principal's attention. Indian Affairs official K. Kerr discussed Turenne's actions with a member of the local Mounted Police detachment, who "agreed with the action taken."[317] At the time, the police took no further action. However, in the 1990s, complaints from former students led the police to revisit the case. According to the Mounted Police, Jubinville was convicted on three charges of assault causing bodily harm and fined $500.[318]

(Martin Houston, who was convicted of sexually assaulting boys at Grollier Hall in 1962, worked at the Kamsack school in the late 1950s. His activities at the Grollier Hall school are discussed elsewhere in this chapter.)

Prince Albert

Between 1976 and 1983, George Zimmerman, the husband of a dormitory supervisor at the Prince Albert Indian Student Education Centre, sexually assaulted nine girls living at the residence. In 1995, Zimmerman was convicted on nine counts of indecent assault, one count of attempted sexual intercourse, and two counts of sexual intercourse. He was given a five-year sentence.[319]

Yukon

In the 1960s, Claude Frappier worked as a child-care supervisor at the Assumption School in Assumption, Alberta. According to one Indian Affairs document, he was

working there in 1967 and had four years' experience.[320] He went to work at Coudert Hall, the Roman Catholic residence in Whitehorse, Yukon, in 1970. Just one year later, the federal government dismissed Frappier after conducting an investigation into allegations of sexual assault on hostel residents. Government officials did not inform police or parents about the findings of the investigation. It was not until 1990 that he was charged and convicted on thirteen counts of indecent assault on boys ranging in age from eight to eleven.[321] He was given a five-year sentence.[322] After his conviction, an internal Indian Affairs review of its files could find no "written investigation" into the events surrounding his dismissal, and neither could Indian Affairs locate any information on "whether or not the RCMP were notified at the time."[323]

Conclusion

It is clear from the preceding account, which focuses primarily on cases that actually made it to the courts and convictions, that residential students were abused in large numbers. The number of claims for compensation for abuse is equivalent to approximately 48% of the number of former students who were eligible to make such claims. The federal government and the churches failed in their responsibility to children. That failure was massive in size and scandalous in nature. The colonization and marginalization of Aboriginal peoples created a situation in which children were vulnerable to abuse, and civil authorities were distant, hostile, and skeptical of Aboriginal reports of abuse. As a result, there were very few prosecutions for abuse while the schools were in operation. Poor pay, poor screening, limited supervision, the reassignment of perpetrators, and the 'normalization' of abusive behaviour all increased the vulnerability of students to adult and student predators. It is also clear that abuse was often 'hushed up': people were dismissed rather than prosecuted, parents were not informed, and children were not provided with supports or counselling. The police investigations that took place in the 1990s were almost invariably mounted in response to organized efforts on the part of the former students themselves. The province-wide investigation in British Columbia should have been replicated in the rest of the country. The thousands of victims of residential school abuse in every region of our country, as exemplified in this chapter, experienced childhood traumas with impacts that have endured throughout their lifetimes. It is a clear and absolute conclusion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that there is a critical, continuing need to ensure that counselling, treatment, and healing supports are made available to former students, their families, and communities, and that it is morally incumbent upon Canada to do so.

CHAPTER 62

Student victimization of students: 1940–2000

Residential school administrators set the tone for life in the schools. Discipline was harsh — and, in many cases, unwarranted. From the students' perspective, rules were strict and arbitrary. Newly arrived students were lonely and traumatized. As of September 19, 2014, claims for compensation that were submitted under the Independent Assessment Process of the Indian Residential Students Settlement Agreement had been made by 31,213 people. This fact demonstrates that the threat of physical and sexual abuse was constant throughout the system. Many students have spoken of how emotions of fear and anxiety dominated their lives.[1]

But school staff members were not the only ones responsible for abuse: by December 14, 2012, over 6,470 claims had been made by individuals who said that they had been victimized by fellow students.[2] This is a stark demonstration of the degree to which violence and abuse constituted an unspoken but very real residential school reality. Every school system has to deal with bullies, cliques, and conflict between students. It is part of the socialization process. Ideally, corrective lessons in how to treat others well are given by example. The residential schools had a responsibility not only to model such behaviour, but also to protect students from being victimized by their fellow students. In many cases, they failed to provide that protection. Although conflicts between students are not unique to residential schools, they take on greater significance in a residential school setting in which children cannot turn to adult family members for comfort and support. The moral influences that a child's home community can exert are also absent. The residential schools failed to live up to their responsibility to protect students from being victimized by other students.

Older or bigger students used force — or the threat of force — to establish their dominance over younger students. In some cases, this dominance was used to coerce younger or smaller students to participate in sexual acts. In other cases, bullies forced vulnerable students to turn over their treats, their food, or their money, or to steal on their behalf. Bullies might also simply seek a measure of sadistic satisfaction from beating those who were weaker. Bullies might operate individually, or in groups. These groups were often formed initially as a defensive response to the level of violence

within the school, but, over time, might take on their own bullying characteristics. In some cases, such groups not only focused their anger and/or frustration on other students, but also sought to disrupt the general operation of the school. The fact that Catholic and Protestant church leaders continued to disparage one another's religions throughout this period meant that conflicts between students could also take on religious overtones during this period, particularly in communities with more than one residential school.

Bullying

For fear of reprisals, many students would be unwilling to report acts of bullying. Despite this reluctance to report, there is evidence of student victimization of one another throughout this period. A seventeen-year-old girl at Mount Elgin, near Goderich, Ontario, forced younger girls to steal items for her in 1886. When some of the other older girls discovered her activities, they began to shame her. As a result, she ran away. It was only on her return that the administration learned that she was bullying the younger students. Consideration was given to discharging her from the school. However, this step was not taken, since it might lead other students who feared to be discharged to commit her behaviours.[illegible]

Although bullying was often persistent and ongoing, student victimization of one another could also take the form of a single violent confrontation. In 1907, a nineteen-year-old boy stabbed a fellow student at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school with a knife. The attacker said he had stabbed the boy for calling him names, but the victim said the attack was unprovoked. According to a police report on the incident, the attacker was taken to the "Psychopathic Ward" for observation.[illegible]

Constant and systematic bullying of fellow students led the principal of the Stony Lookout, Ontario, school to ask Indian Affairs to expel four students in 1902. The boys' victims were reported to be "too scared to submit who gave them the beatings, [stones, cut wrists, etc.]." It was only during the Christmas holidays, when the bullies were away from the school, that the victims spoke out. The principal said,

> The type of brutality used was – blackening the eyes of other boys, holding them down and blacking their eyes or pounding them on the chest, or whipping them with a heavy electric cable. Some of this was done at night in the dormitory, after the staff had retired. The boy would be gagged so that he could not cry out and two boys would hold him down while the others attacked him. Some was done in the same fashion at the day school in the noon hour.[illegible]

In the fall of 1902, S. T. Robinson, the principal of the Cecilia Jeffrey Presbyterian school in northern Ontario, reported to Indian Affairs that a number of older boys were "exercising among some [girls] with the younger students." Some of the boys were

[illegible]

In 1955, the Lacombe, Saskatchewan, residence suspended two boys for their involvement in "an assault with sexual overtones" on a female student. After a police investigation and a meeting with the parents of the students involved, the boys were reinstated.[5]

In the spring of 1956, it was reported that the junior boys (nine- and ten-year-old) at the Lacombe's, Saskatchewan, residence were engaging in a variety of sexual acts. Supervisors identified one boy as the leader; he said he had been taught the practices by an older boy. Although some of the activity might be described as "sexual exploration," the investigation indicated that threats of physical violence were made against boys who did not wish to participate. According to one report, an attempt was made to force one boy to rape Joyce.[6]

One of the issues that arose was the lack of any policy or procedure to deal with problems of this nature. The following excerpt from the minutes of a meeting of children's welfare at the Cardston's residence is illustrative of how overwhelmed staff were. Here, children were being sent for psychological assessment and it was felt that the activities of a number of students, including those who had been bullied into engaging in sexual relations, should be monitored.

> How a group set up with these boys to discuss group issues & concerns would be good but a formal teaching/explaining session might be considered to assess whether or not they need specific intervention (Child & Youth) eg. this might [be] very good if we had the resources & permission from whoever to do this in depth (Hazel). Basically a life skills/sexual dev. program this age group?????
>
> Person might go bygone?[7]

Sanctioned victimization of students was an element of the broader abusive and coercive nature of the residential school system. Parents were unable to withhold their children from this system legally. Underfed, poorly housed, and starved for affection, students often formed groups based on age, community of origin, or First Nation. Such groups both provided protection to their members and dominated more vulnerable students. A lack of adequate supervision meant that such domination could give way to physical and sexual abuse. Complaints were infrequent, as students had good reason not to report their abuse. Some feared that bullies would retaliate if they were reported. Others were ashamed of what had been done to them. Some did not fully understand what had been done to them. Many feared they would not be believed — or would be blamed for somehow bringing the abuse upon themselves. Still others were further punished when they did tell. So, rather than report the abuse, many students chose to fight back, to seek admission into a receptive group, or to endure the pain in silence. This victimization left many students feeling intensely betrayed, frightened, isolated, and bereft of home teachings and protection. This betrayal by their fellow students has contributed significantly to the schools' long-term legacy of continuing

division and distress within Aboriginal communities. The residential school system's essential inability to protect students from such victimization, even from among themselves, represents one of its most significant and least-understood failures.

CHAPTER 43

Sports and the arts: 1940–2000

In commenting on the gymnastics team at the Christie, British Columbia, school in the early 1940s, Ian (sometimes known as "Jan") Eisenhardt, the director of the Young People's Work program for the British Columbia government, wrote to the school principal, "Personally, I have never seen better executed pyramids anywhere, for the age group with which you are dealing, and one of your pictures, the group with the girls, as regard to expression, is the very finest I have ever seen." Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey also congratulated the Christie school principal for the gymnastics team's accomplishments, adding that he regretted that the department had "not been able to do more in the organization of physical culture classes at our residential schools."[1]

In 1945, Eisenhardt, who was by then the director of physical fitness for the federal government, witnessed a display of tumbling, springboard stunts, and partner work that the gymnastics team from the Mission, British Columbia, school put on at a meeting of the Canadian Physical Education Association in Vancouver. He was so impressed by the "high standard of physical training" provided at the Mission school, much of which, he said, was "carried on by young Indian men," that he attempted to have the National Film Board make a short film about physical training at the school. Such a film would be "a worthwhile item insofar as not only would it credit the Indians with this training and focus attention upon how far Indians could go with good leadership, but it would also be a stimulator to the white people in Canada when they are challenged with these documentary facts to the ability of Indian boys and girls."[2] He also sought funding from Indian Affairs to send the school's gymnastics team on a cross-Canada tour.[3]

Members of the public were also impressed by the athletic skills of residential school students. After watching a gymnastics exhibition by students of the Kamloops, British Columbia, school in the summer of 1950, George Beete wrote, "If all our young people were trained by the same method where learning walks side by side with decorum and good behavior; where Christian precepts are imparted we would hear no more of hooliums and gangs."[4]

In that same year, Alberni, British Columbia, school principal A. E. Caldwell wrote that the process of integrating residential school students into public schools

> has been greatly furthered in our school generally by participation in league sports, soft-ball [sic], football, etc, with all the Sunday Schools of the community and with teams from industrial plants and other organizations. Although our teams were, on the average, better than opponents, often of older ages, the good spirit engendered, and the real friendships formed, have been most encouraging.[5]

These four stories highlight many of the important themes revealed by a study of sports, recreation, and the arts in residential schools. The first point to be made is that when given access to resources—even very limited resources—Aboriginal students achieved impressive levels of skill and accomplishment. Second, government and church officials saw sports and cultural activities, including the arts, as being potential ways to steer young Aboriginal people away from becoming involved in criminal activity and to assimilate them into Canadian society. It was also felt that the public demonstrations of Aboriginal athletic skills would be positive public relations for the work that Indian Affairs was doing.

Given the fact that sports and culture were often justified as measures intended to further the 'civilization' and assimilation of residential school students, two additional points are worth bearing in mind. The first is that the federal government never invested heavily in sports, recreation, and the arts in residential schools. If these activities were indeed tools of assimilation, they were underutilized by the federal government and the churches. Second, students valued these activities, which provided them with a refuge in a world that was, for many, harsh and alienating. For some students, this refuge meant a chance to travel to distant places for sports- and arts-related outings; it could also mean extra or better portions of food, and relief from having to do some of their normal chores. Some students drew a sense of accomplishment and confidence from their involvement in the arts or sports. In some cases, students were able to create lifelong careers based on skills that they developed in these areas while they were in the schools. Others simply said that without the release they found in sports or the arts, they would never have survived the residential school experience.

Christina Kimball attended the Roman Catholic school near The Pas, Manitoba, where she experienced physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. She believes that it was only through her involvement with sports that she made it through residential school: "I was very sports-oriented. I played baseball. Well, we play baseball, and even hockey. We had a hockey team. That was benefited, benefited me in a way 'cause I loved playing sports."[6] Noel Starblanket said that sports were all that kept him returning to the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school: "I didn't want to go back for the teaching, for the teachers, for the, the Christian indoctrination, or, or the strapping, or any of the other abuses. I wanted to go back for the sports."[7] Geraldine Shingoose took refuge in

extracurricular activities at the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school: "I would join track-meet, try and be, and I was quite athletic in boarding school. And I also joined the band, and I played a trombone. And, and that was something that took me away from the school, and just to, it was a relief."[8] At a Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Public Dialogue in the school gymnasium in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Paul Andrew recalled that he "ran around this gym a lot of times, and this gym was a saviour for a lot of things because we were good at the physical stuff, we were good athletes, we were good at the sports."[9] John Kistabish was another of the students who took refuge in sports: "I really liked to play hockey. I liked it a lot because we helped each other, you weren't alone, because I wanted to win. And, we had fun because we helped each other a lot."[10] Sometimes, however, the coaches took the pleasure out of sports. Pierre Papatie played goalie for the Amos, Québec, school hockey team. He said, "When we were losing, we were getting beaten with a ruler. We always had to win. We didn't know how to lose. It was always, win, win."[11]

Sports: "I could achieve a goal"

Federal government support in the post-war period

At the end of the Great Depression of the 1930s, Canada's residential schools had minimal recreational facilities or opportunities. In response to the observation of the local Indian agent that the Lac la Ronge, Saskatchewan, school lacked recreational activities, Anglican Church representative T. B. R. Westgate wrote that anyone who had seen "the rocky nature of the spot on which the School stands, and of the surrounding area, will realize how difficult it is to secure suitable playing fields."[12] Despite an acknowledged lack of facilities or resources, Indian Affairs was not prepared to fund improvements. Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey informed Florence Lang of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society in 1940 that he was convinced "from experience, that excellent work can be done in physical instruction and in the promotion of manual training, while still avoiding the necessity of expenditures on costly equipment."[13] Three years later, in responding to a request for sports equipment for the Mission, British Columbia, school, Hoey pointed out that virtually all sporting goods produced in Canada were being shipped to the armed forces.[14] (During the war, sporting goods were declared a "non-essential industry," and no able-bodied man between the ages of seventeen and forty-five could be legally employed in their manufacture. As a result, they were in limited supply.)[15]

Indian agent G. A. Swartman noted in 1945 that at both the Sioux Lookout and McIntosh schools in northwestern Ontario, the "lack of recreational and athletic opportunities is very noticeable."[16] Conditions did not improve in the post-war period.

In its 1946 report, the Anglican Church's Indian Work Investigation Commission noted that, according to "one observer" at one school, "no one organised any games. The fields surrounding the school provided plenty of space, but were not used for recreation. Upon enquiry I learned that they had one baseball and bat, 'but the girls had taken it.'" The report also touched on the "almost-underground playrooms, and the small playground outside with the wire fence separating the boys from the girls."[17]

When, in 1946, British Columbia Indian Commissioner W. S. Arneil forwarded a list of sporting goods supplies being requested by the principal of the Mission school, he observed that it included badminton equipment, "which is not normally supplied by the Department." He supported its inclusion because the school badminton team participated in a league made up of non-Aboriginal teams. "In view of the benefit which the Indian pupils undoubtedly receive from this association it is recommended that encouragement be given to this activity by the supplying of the items requested."[18] Despite this argument, the request was turned down.[19]

When asked to supply skates and hockey sticks to the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school, in 1949, Philip Phelan, the chief of the Indian Affairs Education Division, responded that Indian Affairs did not supply schools with skates. He did agree to purchase sticks for the school.[20] This ban was not applied consistently. Eight days later, Phelan himself authorized the purchase of $75 worth of hockey equipment for the McIntosh school and $100 worth of sports equipment for the Sioux Lookout school.[21]

Limited funding made it difficult for schools to keep qualified coaches. The Qu'Appelle school lost its sports organizer, Edward Doll, at the end of the 1949–50 school year. School principal P. Piché said that Doll had taken "a more assured and better position," but thought he could be lured back if he were offered "an adequate salary."[22] Indian Affairs had planned to build a new gymnasium at the school at Spanish, Ontario, but, according to Indian Affairs official B. E. Neary in 1950, the plan "suffered somewhat with the cut" imposed by Parliament.[23] A commitment to build a new gymnasium at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school was also deferred that year.[24] The same year, repairs were also needed to physical fitness facilities at schools at Kuper Island in British Columbia and Lac la Ronge in Saskatchewan.[25]

A brief period of interest: 1948–1951

In 1948, it appeared that Indian Affairs was actually going to make a substantial investment in Aboriginal sports and recreation. In that year, Hugh Keenleyside, the deputy minister responsible for Indian Affairs, wrote that "one of the most useful steps that could be taken in this field would be the development of one or more Indian athletes who could win championships in Canada or represent Canada in games abroad." He recommended that Indian Affairs staff be encouraged to "keep a sharp eye on any

young boys or girls who show an aptitude for athletic events. If some promising candidates can be developed I think we would make money available to assist them in their training."[26] In keeping with this thinking, in 1950, Indian Affairs created a position of supervisor of physical education and recreation for Aboriginal people.

Ian Eisenhardt was appointed to the position. Born and raised in Denmark, Eisenhardt had been the Danish junior cross-country running champion; played soccer for both the French and Danish national teams; and won championships in boxing, tennis, track and field, and fencing. After working as a playground instructor for three years in Vancouver, in 1932, he was appointed as the city's superintendent of recreation.[27] In that position, Eisenhardt helped establish a highly regarded recreation and fitness program. It paid special attention to the needs of the large number of young, unemployed Canadians who congregated in Vancouver during the Depression. Building on this foundation, he went on to direct the British Columbia Recreational and Physical Fitness Branch. The branch's work extended far beyond the organizing of competitive sports teams: its focus was on fitness and health, and it included a variety of social and artistic activities in its programs. Remarkably for a public recreation program of the time, over half of its participants were female.[28] Eisenhardt served in the Canadian military during the Second World War as the Canadian army's sports officer.[29]

When the federal government adopted the *National Physical Fitness Act* in 1943, a National Physical Fitness Council set the goal of creating a mass-participation fitness program. Eisenhardt was hired to administer the program. Much of the program's limited budget was, however, to be administered by provincial and territorial governments. The federal government soon proved unwilling to act on the council's recommendations, or to increase program funding. Eisenhardt resigned in frustration in 1946. The Act itself was repealed in 1954.[30] Before his resignation, Eisenhardt had recommended that the federal government treat "Indians and Eskimos as the 10th Province under the *National Fitness Act*."[31] (He may well have been the first senior Canadian government official in the post-war era to advocate such a government-to-government approach to address Aboriginal affairs.) In 1946, he took a position with the United Nations, and in 1949, he served as secretary to an international commission on education reconstruction in Europe.[32] The following year, he went to work for Indian Affairs.

Shortly after being hired at Indian Affairs, he conducted a cross-country tour, visiting twenty reserves, twenty-one day schools, and thirty-two residential schools. In addition to noting sports and recreation, he took notes on health, hygiene, clothing, and sanitation.[33] To his displeasure, Eisenhardt was told that during this tour, he was not to consult with Aboriginal leaders.[34]

In 1950, Eisenhardt prepared an inventory of the sports and recreation facilities at each school, and the elements of the recreational and sports programming. He

recorded whether there were handicrafts, music, singing, or drama programs. He also noted the presence of Boy Scouts troops and units of the Junior Red Cross. The list of sports that he looked for included two traditional Aboriginal activities: lacrosse and snow snakes ("snow snakes" is a competition that involves throwing a wooden "snake" along a grooved track in the snow). He also took note of whether girls participated in the sports. At the Blue Quills, Alberta, school, for example, he reported the presence of handicraft, music, singing, and drama programs. He identified a need for more sports equipment: the only two sports that were offered on an organized basis at the time were skating (boys only) and volleyball.[55]

After his visit to Blue Quills, he pressed Indian Affairs official R. F. Neary to provide money for the completion of the gymnasium at the school. Construction of the building had been started eight years earlier but never completed.[56] He also arranged to have musical instruments shipped to the school.[57] After Eisenhardt's visit to the Hobbema Reserve in Alberta, a local sports club had been reorganized and a hockey team established. In a report to Eisenhardt, Hobbema principal G. M. Latour wrote:

> Our Midget team is good this year but will not enter in the provincial league. The brom-ball [sic] team too is very popular with the girls and the older men. A game es [sic] played nearly every evening. We have received, with your cooperation the two "Striking Bags" and the 200 feet "Braid Sash Cord". You should see the boys, punching at the bag when it is too stormy outdoors. Many thanks for these [sic] sports equipment.[58]

It is apparent that Eisenhardt urged principals to make small but immediate improvements. After his visit to the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, the principal arranged to have a soccer field marked off in front of the school. According to the principal, "It proved to be a very popular game with all who played."[59] Eisenhardt also provided the principal with a booklet on lacrosse and suggested students be encouraged to play that game on the soccer field as well.[60] He tried many ways to address the existing budgetary problems, including attempting to induce other residential schools to donate unused equipment to schools that were in need.[61]

In 1951, Eisenhardt published an article on Indian Affairs' new Aboriginal health and recreation initiative in the *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*. He wrote that although some schools were achieving considerable success, "this picture is not general." As a result, Indian Affairs was developing a "program of health and recreation for all Indians in schools, on the reserves, and in the hospitals." This program of fitness and activity would make each First Nations person "an active agent in his own social betterment." Eisenhardt wrote that the following description of conditions at an unnamed residential school was typical of the condition of recreational facilities in most schools:

> We have 200 Indian children. In summer small play-changing rooms for juniors and seniors, both boys and girls. Boys and girls play softball in season on a fairly well-levelled playground; boys also play soccer. No hockey, as winter usually [is] too mild to freeze ice. Considerable damp weather necessitates children staying indoors. The school auditorium is used for group games, Scout and Guide meetings, movies, etc. There is a good unused basement on the property as well as a room to be used classroom block, either of which might be made into a gymnasium.

He also reported that when asked what could be done to help develop more Aboriginal athletes, the Indian Affairs superintendent from Sioux Lookout, Ontario, wrote, "Equipment needed. At present nothing to hold the pupils' interest after school hours. Would like competition with other schools. When we offer games from time to time, we have less truancy and better students."[32]

For publishing the article without prior approval, Eberhardt was reprimanded by Indian Affairs official R. F. Neary, who feared that the article might have offended the churches.[33]

In 1951, the Indian Affairs branch was focused on amending the *Indian Act*. As a result, Eberhardt was unable to obtain support for funding for his proposals, and he resigned at the end of the year to take a job with Canadair as director of recreation.[34] He was dismissed from that position within a few months, apparently a victim of the national security concerns prevalent in the Cold War era.[35]

Eberhardt's most enduring legacy was the Tom Longboat Award. In 1950, he proposed that the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) establish an award to be given to a First Nations athlete. The award would be named after the famed Mohawk athlete Tom Longboat. The AAUC agreed, as long as it could take full credit for the award.[36] The award was initially funded by the Dominion Bridge Company. "Canada's best all-round Indian athlete" was to be selected each year from a number of regional winners.[37] The athletes were initially nominated by Indian agents; most of the nominees came from residential schools or integrated schools.[38] The National Indian Brotherhood (which later became the Assembly of First Nations) took over responsibility for the Tom Longboat Award in 1973.[39]

1951 onward: Underfunding continues

Eberhardt's position remained vacant after his resignation. Sports and recreation, lacking an advocate in Indian Affairs, continued to be underfunded. In his 1951 report, G. R. Turner, of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, wrote that "nothing whatsoever for summer sports equipment has been provided by Indian Affairs so far this year. Soccer and softball equipment should be furnished."[40]

In November 1952, Lois Sparrington, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, reported that there was a "crying need for children's shoes and any type of hockey equipment."[1] The following year, A. Leavitt reported that the Kamsack schools school in Kamsack was not able to offer its students organized sports because it had no a playground.[2]

A national survey of Indian Affairs schools (both day and residential) in 1956 even hinted:

> In most of the schools there appeared to be little or no physical education programs. A number of schools had no facilities for such activities. Basement areas were obviously designed for playing areas, but they were very inadequate and were utilized for storage or for assembly purposes. A large number of school sites were not properly cleared, graded, and prepared for playing purposes. Many were still in the wild state; others were overgrown with shrubs, stumps, grasses and other weeds presenting a very unkempt and neglected appearance.[3]

Oblate Provincial L. Prosper wrote to Indian Affairs about conditions at the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school in 1957. He pointed out that a year and half earlier, he had informed Indian Affairs about the need for a school gymnasium. At that time, he said, "the boys' play room, a room about 15 by 60, was a scene of confusion during recreation periods. There were about 150 boys trying to play the used duty had brought in on their feet had dried and there was so much dust in the room that you could not recognize a boy at the opposite end." Although the department had assured him the construction of a gymnasium would be a priority, nothing had been done, and "the problem of playroom space is worse than ever."[4]

In 1963, Blue Quills, Alberta, school principal P. H. Lyonnais described the school gymnasium as being in a "terrible state."[5] Two years later, he lamented to the assistant deputy minister for Indian Affairs:

> For the past two years, I have been working through regular channels to get action on a gymnasium and accommodation [sic] for our High School Boys, to replace an old dilapidated building, which was condemned two years ago by an engineer [sic] of the Department, but which we have been obliged to use for the past two years. And as far as I know, we shall have to use it again this coming September through [because we have] boys living in such a place. It is certainly a disgrace to the Department to have us to use such a building, and all those who use it agree that the only solution is to tear it down and build a new gymnasium.[6]

A 1965 newspaper article on conditions at Blue Quills reported that the building used for boys' recreation and concerts was "literally falling apart. It has been unanimously shunned by state fitness which are more or less doing the job and threatening to endanger anytime."[7] In August 1967, the first that Indian Affairs Minister Arthur Laing

could say about the long-promised gymnasium was that funds for construction had been provided in that year's budget estimates.[2] The new gymnasium was officially opened on May 15, 1969.[3] This was almost six years after Dan Mundell had first pressed the government to build a new gymnasium.

In 1963, the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school had been in some difficulty and persisted for twenty lessons. To accommodate the need for six days, the school conscientiously applied two Indian tribes to the lands to build a school.[1]

In 1967, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Fontaine, Alberta, commented that conventional facilities were largely inadequate, with the bigger girls compared to "a small room in the condemned primary block" and the bigger boys using a "dilapidated classroom that."[1]

As a result of a $3.4 million budget cut, the following projects were dropped from the 1968-69 Indian Affairs budget:

- a gymnasium at the Pointe Bleue, Quebec, school
- a gymnasium at Seven Islands, Quebec
- a gymnasium, two study rooms, two activity rooms, and storage facilities at Pointe Bleue
- a gymnasium, a library, staff accommodation, and additional classrooms at Fort George, Quebec
- a gymnasium, six classrooms, a kindergarten classroom, and a library at Cornwall, Indian Reserve, Ontario, due to be cut in the capital budget
- a gymnasium and staff units at Brantford, Indian Reserve, Ontario[2]

In assessing the situation, an Indian Affairs briefing note acknowledged, "There is no doubt that we have been consistently optimistic about the funds that would be available in our capital program and have run a number of projects given considerable interest in the hope that would provide for these within a particular time limit and we have not been able to fulfill these expectations."[1]

In the fall of 1970, Dan Mundell, Affairs, played a role in the [illegible] to build a second gymnasium directly in the interest of Indian Affairs, Ivan Fairbairn. He pointed out that there were 600 students attending the school. Students in grades three to nine got two periods a week in the gym. Students in grades one to three had no time in the gymnasium. "Thus missing a vital part in their development." After school hours, the gym was used by the students in the residence and Indian dance and bingo [illegible], and, two nights a week, by the community. As a result, there was no time for school events or practices, making it impossible for them to compete successfully against the town Aboriginal school teams in the region.[1] In the proceedings of Fairbairn's office, Indian Affairs made inquiries to see if there was any possibility of changing the schedule to allow more children to use the existing gymnasium.[2]

making special arrangements for meals, etc, etc." When the principal tried to see the boys between periods at one game, the dressing-room door was shut in his face by the league president. On another occasion, Swettman refused to allow the principal to accompany the team on a road trip. The taking of a team photograph was put off until the principal was out of town. Turner instructed the principal that the school should refuse to enter a team in the local league unless it was made clear that the team represented the school, and the principal or his appointee was accepted as a member of the league executive. Turner also complained that the principals of the Anglican schools with successful hockey teams had not been named in an article on hockey in the Indian Affairs *Indian School Bulletin*, but the names of the principals of the Catholic schools were mentioned in discussion of their hockey teams. This, he said, was a matter of "clear discrimination."[143] To Turner and others, hockey was about much more than sport; it was about promoting the success of the church.

The Alberta school newspapers were often full of student-written reports on games and tournaments. A Hobbema school newspaper from the early 1960s reported on the school's first hockey game against "an outside team," the Hobbema Juniors. The game ended in a tie. According to the paper, "the Juniors were quite proud of themselves after skating off the ice with a 6–6 tie." The school also had a three-team intramural league.[144] In 1962, the Hobbema Juniors won nine of their ten games. According to the school paper, the team was hurt when its captain fractured his ankle. Six team players went on that year to play with the Wetaskiwin Eskimos in the Alberta midget hockey championship.[145] In 1952, Alice Jamieson hit a low poetic point when he wrote that for the Blue Quills team, "our victory does not seem to satisfy our hungry team's appetite." After victory over St. Paul, he wrote that "all warmed up by our victory, we came back to the School where an appetizing lunch and warm blankets were awaiting us. During the rest of the night, while we rested, the surprised nuns and sisters were gazing at us."[146]

Sometimes at Alberta schools, there was no skating rink until January. At the Anglican school at Gleichen, the students would skate on the frozen surface of water that was backed up by the school dam. According to an article written by Oliver Soup for the school paper in 1955, "After a while we got our rink flooded. We worked hard at it. Some of the boys stayed up until one o'clock in the morning flooding the rink. But we finally managed to get a good sheet of ice to skate on."[147]

The Blue Quills hockey team won five of its eight games in 1959. According to an article in the school paper, "Through sheer, our hockey season was a very pleasant one and we used it to the full. Every day we practiced or played for good. We have seen a lot of teamwork and good sportsmanship. Thanks to our coach Mr. T. Cardinal for his fine advice and encouragement."[148] Under the coaching of Nick Kohlman, the Hobbema school had what was viewed as one of the best hockey teams in the province in the late 1950s.[149]

In 1958, Indian Affairs organized a two-day tournament for teams from five residential schools in northwestern Ontario. Teams from Fort Frances and the Roman Catholic school in Kenora faced each other in the final game, with the Kenora team's emerging victorious. Fred Nesacapo of the Presbyterian school in Kenora was named the most outstanding player in the tournament.[113]

In 1958, the principal of the Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, I. M. Black, reported that students from Akaitcho Hall were playing in the local Senior Men's League. There were also a curling league and two school volleyball house leagues.[114] Students from both the Pointe Bleue and Amos schools in Québec were on teams that played in a hockey tournament in Québec City to record crowds in 1961.[115]

Although only a few students went on to play hockey professionally, for many others, the game remained an ongoing and positive part of their lives. Former residential school students played a role in organizing the Indian Sports Olympics Association (ISOA) in the early 1970s. The ISOA Thunderbirds were Canada's first all-star Aboriginal junior hockey team. In following years, Aboriginal hockey teams and leagues, such as the Alberta Native Hockey League, were established across the country. Through participation in old-timers' hockey teams, a number of students continued to play. Former students, for example, were prominent in the Hobbema Old Chiefs team that won a gold medal in international competition.[116]

Boxing on the west coast

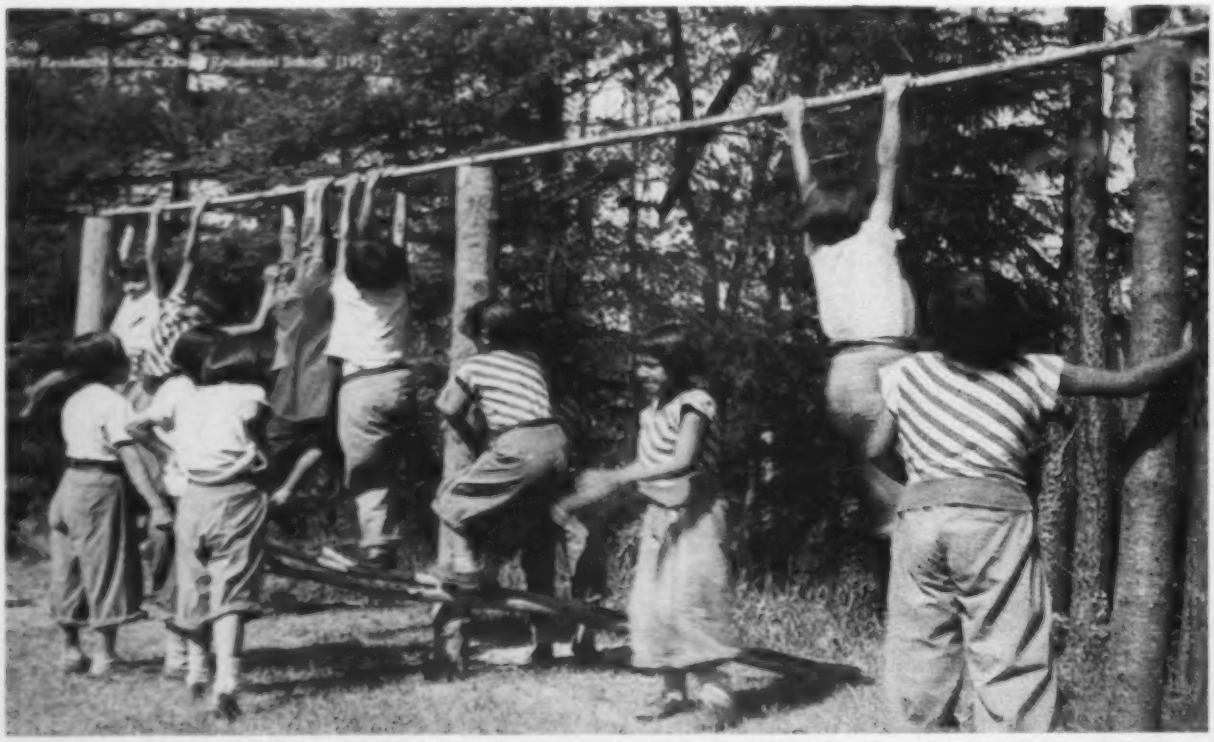
While hockey dominated boys' sports in most residential schools, British Columbia residential schools gained renown for their boxers. In 1947, the Roman Catholic school at Sechelt in North Vancouver advertised for a volunteer to run a school athletics program. Navy veteran Alex Strain took on the job. At the time, the school had no recreation program and no facilities. Under Strain's direction, the students cleared out a storage building and turned it into a gymnasium. Putting in four days of volunteer work a week, Strain created what *Vancouver Sun* reporter Gerry Pratt described as "the smoothest tumbling team in the province." He then established a boxing program at the school. The limits of the first ring were marked out by four rows of chairs. The first punching bag was a navy duffle bag filled with tumbling mats. After two years, Strain purchased a used truck and took the students on a boxing tour of Vancouver Island. After four years in existence, the team had won over 100 trophies. Sister John Lawrence made robes and shorts for each member of the team and also served as trainer.[117] Frederick Baker, the winner of the first national Tom Longboat Award, was a member of the Sechelt boxing team. Baker had won three championships in 1948, two in 1949, one in 1950, and one in 1951.[118]

The recreation room at the Carcross school in the Yukon. A 1946 Anglican Church report commented on the "almost underground" nature of school playrooms.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75/1-110

Boys playing hockey at the Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, school. Note the homemade hockey sticks.

St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Fonds, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, N6151.



The playground at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario.
Presbyterian Church of Canada Archives, G-5476-FC-59.

A prize-winning hockey team from the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P2004-09-293.

The Amos, Québec, school hockey team.
Deschâtelets Archives.

The hockey rink at the McIntosh, Ontario, school.
St. Boniface Historical Society Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate of Manitoba fonds, delegation, SHSB29362.

The Squamish, British Columbia, school boxing team.
North Vancouver Archives, 4791.

The Alberni, British Columbia, girls' soccer team.
United Church of Canada Archives, 86.158P16.

The Old Sun's, Alberta, girls' baseball team.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-103-S7-202.

The Pointe Bleue, Québec, girls' broomball team.
History and Archeology Society of Mashteuiatsh.

A three-legged race at the Anglican school at Fort George, Québec.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75/1-212.

The Firth sisters skiing near Inuvik, Northwest Territories. They represented Canada at four different Olympic Games. Between them, they won forty-eight Canadian championships.
Tessa MacIntosh, NWT Archives, Northwest Territories, Dept. of Public Works and Services fonds, accession number G-1995-001, item number 3010.

A Christmas concert at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school
United Church of Canada Archives, 80-128-1/3

A school concert, [illegible] French Catholics
[illegible] Archives

[illegible]

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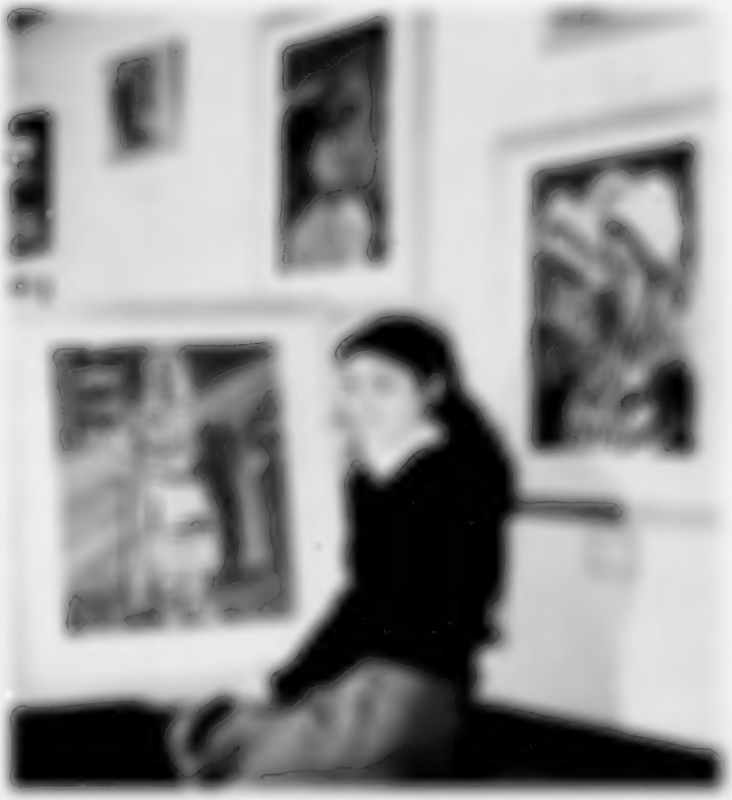

[illegible] Girl Guide Barnabetta Bullock and Boy Scout Richard Bullock [illegible]
Diocese of Churchill-Hudson Bay, GR-xx-xxxx

Left: Eskimo girl in the Grace Albert, Caribou Eskimo, school
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P72-1973-xxx

Boy Scouts at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Wood-Harris

The prize-winning cadet corps at the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Foster-Hall

Ian Eisenhardt, while still with Indian Affairs, was impressed by the work that Strain was doing at the Sechelt school and arranged to have him paid a part-time salary, starting in 1951.[107] In later years, Strain went on to work as an athletic instructor at both the Sechelt and Mission, British Columbia, schools.[108]

In 1952, Strain and Andrew Paull, the president of the North American Indian Brotherhood, organized a Buckskin Gloves amateur boxing match for Vancouver. It was a two-day event for Aboriginal fighters from the Pacific Northwest. When Strain and Paull had trouble coming up with the $50 needed for the deposit on the arena, the Sisters of the Child Jesus agreed to sponsor the event. The fact that nuns were sponsoring a boxing match made headlines internationally. The guest of honour at the event was the famed Native American athlete Jim Thorpe.[109]

Among the fighters who went through Strain's program in North Vancouver was future Musqueam First Nation Chief Ernie Campbell. He and his brother Eddie won numerous boxing tournaments for the school in the 1950s. As a chief, Ernie not only oversaw a number of important and successful legal challenges on behalf of his First Nation, but he also revived its athletics and recreation program.[110] In 1956, the Mission school sent fourteen students to a Golden Gloves boxing tournament in Trail, British Columbia. It was the largest entry at the tournament, which attracted boxing teams from fourteen communities.[111] Roger Adolph took up boxing at the Williams Lake residential school after getting in a fight with a fellow student on the basketball court. He later fought professionally in England and then returned to British Columbia, where, as chief of the Fountain Band, he played an important role in the fight for Aboriginal fishing rights.[112]

Hockey and boxing were not, of course, the only sports being played in the schools. In the 1970s, the Roman Catholic school at Cardston, Alberta, offered students a rodeo course.[113] The school also had a strong basketball program that produced two provincial championship teams.[114] Many schools had baseball teams.[115] Basil Johnston's memoir of his time at the Spanish, Ontario, boys' school devoted most of a chapter to sports, particularly to a championship-winning football season in the 1940s. A private donor had come up with the team's supplies: "battered old helmets, assorted shoulder pads, but no pants." The school's seamstress made thirteen pairs of football pants out of stiff denim, which were then hand-painted green. They were stiff, scratchy, and prone to splitting open.[116] Johnston wrote, "We had scarcely put away the football uniforms or recovered from our pains than we began the basketball season. But that was the system in Spanish, the Jesuit system, always playing, always occupied in something or other, seldom permitted to lounge or relax."[117]

In his memoir of going to residential school in the Northwest Territories in the 1950s and 1960s, Albert Canadien wrote of how, in his second year at Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, he took up some sports he had never played before: "I started playing badminton, basketball and volleyball at the school gym in the evenings. We even

had an evening of free skating at the Gerry Murphy Arena for the Akaitcho Hall students. I joined up for a hockey team—The Seals. Our coach was a member of the local RCMP detachment."[118]

Female participation in sports

As was the case in the broader society, girls in residential schools had fewer opportunities to play organized sports. Nineteen of the first twenty winners of the national Tom Longboat Award, for example, were males. During that same period (1951 to 1971), there were only thirteen female winners of the regional version of the award. More than 99% of the winners were male.[119] One of the girls' races at the 1950 track-and-field competition at the Kenora Presbyterian school provides a glaring example of the trivialization of female participation in sports: the girls ran to a makeup station, where they applied cosmetics and bobby pins without a mirror, and then raced back to the starting line.[120]

Some girls in residential schools did play organized sports, however. There are numerous photographs of girls' sports teams. When they were allowed to play, the girls often played very well. The Birtle, Manitoba, school principal, N. M. Rusaw, prepared this report on the school's February 1959 winter sports day and carnival.

> We obtained the town rink for the afternoon and so had two games of hockey. Our girls played the town girls again and won their game. I have gotten them new red and white sweaters, in which they look very lovely. The colors were chosen by them. Their games are very nice to watch, the people go for that much more than the boys hockey. It has amazed me how our girls are taking a hold. There is no hesitancy whatever and it has given them a feeling of importance, at least on the same basis as the boys.[121]

In March 1959, the boys' and girls' hockey teams travelled from Birtle to the Portage la Prairie school to participate in that school's winter carnival, where the Birtle teams won both their games.[122] The Lower Post, British Columbia, girls' volleyball team went to Whitehorse, Yukon, over the 1969 Easter break. Although they won only one game, it was their first time playing in an outside competition.[123]

The Territorial Experimental Ski Training program

One of the most successful residential school sports initiatives, one that was open to male and female competitors, was the Territorial Experimental Ski Training (TEST) program in the Northwest Territories. After a series of ski clinics in 1965 and 1966, the TEST program was established with funding from the federal government. It was

an outgrowth of the work of Father J. M. Mouchet, an Oblate who came to Canada from France in the 1940s and undertook missionary work in the Yukon Territories. Although he had little success in winning converts to the Catholic Church, he played an important role in introducing cross-country skiing to northern Canada.[124] Initially, the program was run out of Grollier Hall, the Roman Catholic hostel in Inuvik. In the program's first winter of operation, members skied over 32,190 kilometres and took part in forty-five races.[125] The United States Air Force provided Mouchet with a supply of used skis. In addition to their pleasure in skiing, students who participated in his program were often able to miss church services, spending much of each Sunday skiing.[126]

Sharon and Shirley Firth were among the first to be recruited to Mouchet's ski program in 1965.[127] The twin sisters were born into a Gwich'in family in Aklavik in 1953, but the family relocated to Inuvik.[128] After the move, their mother was hospitalized with tuberculosis. As a result, the girls lived briefly in Stringer Hall, the Anglican residence in Inuvik. They were happy to return home: they had complaints about the food and the fact that they were not allowed to speak to their brothers.[129] They, and other Inuvik youngsters, particularly those from Grollier Hall, were soon competing in local and international ski competitions. The 1968 skiing victories of Shirley and Sharon Firth and Harold Cook in a variety of competitions were recorded and celebrated in the Grollier school journal.[130] Sharon Firth recalled that their coach Bjorger Petterson had told them that if they did well, they would travel the world. She said, "As a child that was one of my dreams."[131]

The Firth sisters went on to represent Canada at four different Olympic games. Between them, they won forty-eight Canadian championships. Inuvik became a centre for cross-country skiing in Canada: during the 1972 Winter Olympics, seven of the nine members of the Canadian Nordic team were from the Mackenzie River valley and delta regions of the Northwest Territories.[132]

Other high-performing skiers from Grollier Hall were Angus and Rex Cockney; Roseanne, Roger, and Anita Allen; Ernie Lennie (1970 Junior Champion of Canada); and Fred Kelly (1968 Canadian Junior Champion).[133]

Sharon Firth said that focusing on her skiing goals helped her to escape the destructive patterns that engulfed many of the young people she grew up with.[134] Harold Cook, from Fort Good Hope, was also a member of the TEST team in the 1960s. At the time, he was living in Grollier Hall, where he was sexually abused by a staff member. In 1997, he told the Northern News Service, "I skied to get away from the residence." By then, he was helping to organize a support group for other former students who had been abused at Grollier Hall. He told the author of a book about the ski team, "I think skiing gave me the strength to bounce back after abuse.... It taught me that I could achieve a goal if it was a realistic one and I worked really hard toward it."[135]

The arts: "Very little is done in most classrooms"

When speaking about the positive elements of his life at the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school, Phil Fontaine said, "I fondly remember the concerts which may have been held to honor a feast day, the principal, Father, Sister Superior or Christmas. If one were lucky you could be asked to act in a play, and I was on a few occasions. We spent evenings preparing for the play and that was really nice because it took us away from regimented activities."[136]

As with sports, the arts—drama, music, writing, dancing, and painting—could provide students with a respite from the confining nature of institutional life. Former students often pointed to these as bright points in their school life.[137]

Drama

Virtually every school had a Christmas concert, and many schools mounted ambitious dramatic productions. In some cases, school productions included locally written comedies. At Spanish, Ontario, the boys' Senior Dramatic Club put on the play *Birdslaughter*, written and directed by J. Sammon in 1947. In this comic courtroom drama, Adam Commanda played the judge, Henry Deere and Maxie Simon were Mounted Police officers, and Basil Johnston portrayed the prosecuting attorney.[138]

The Christie, British Columbia, school was awarded the Oskenonton Challenge Cup for the best dramatic work put on by an "Indian" group by the British Columbia Department of Education for its production of *The Hidden Gem*, a complex verse play from the nineteenth century.[139]

In 1967, the students attending the Shingwauk, Ontario, school put on a four-act play called *Arrow to the Moon*. One act used a dialogue between an Elder and a young man to contrast what were seen as the old and new ways open to Aboriginal people. Billy Diamond played the role of the young man, who, at the scene's end, concludes, "The new ways show a way to work and live but the old ways have shown us how to die." The performance was filmed and shown to the James Bay Cree, who refrained from making any public comment, but were shocked to discover the degree to which their children were being manipulated.[140] (Not many years later, while still a young man, Billy Diamond successfully negotiated the first major, comprehensive, Aboriginal rights agreement in Canada for his James Bay Cree people.)

Music and dance

In the 1960s, the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school had an accomplished choir, known as the "Singing Indians." In 1967, the choir travelled to Expo '67 in Montreal. The choir also travelled, with Indian Affairs support, to Disneyland in 1969. The thirty-six-member choir sang in English and Cree, and recorded an album, *A Hundred Years of Progress*.[141] In the late 1950s, the Beauval school also had a boys' choir, the "Beauval Indian Boys," which recorded an album of Christian spirituals.[142]

The Kamloops, British Columbia, school won considerable attention for its female folk dance company: the Kamloops Indian Residential School Dancers. In the 1940s, Sister Ann Mary, a nun from Ireland, initiated dance classes at the school. The dance company became more successful when she was joined at the school by her sister, known as "Sister Mary Leonita." Under their direction, the company concentrated at first on Irish dancing, but eventually branched out into other types of folk dancing.[143] In May 1960, their performance of a Ukrainian kerchief dance, a Swiss dance, and two Irish dances won the Melva Dwyer Cup in the folk dancing competition at the Yale–Cariboo Musical Festival.[144] The dance troupe performed locally and even toured internationally, travelling to Mexico in 1964.[145]

In 1963, students from the Carcross school went to see "a display of Indian Dancing by the children of the Yukon Hostel and Lower Post R.C. Residential School." According to Principal David Lawson, this was judged to be "especially interesting to sixteen of our Brownie Pack who are being taught Indian dancing by a Mrs. Sydney of Carcross."[146] (This was possibly Angela Sidney, who was one of the first students to attend the Carcross school when it opened in the early twentieth century.)[147]

The Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school established a Boy Scouts troop and powwow dance group in the late 1950s.[148] It was originally "a small group of Indian boys learning and performing their traditional native dances as an added activity program." By the 1980s, the company had over fifty members, ranging in age from six to eighteen. Most of the dancers were male, but some female students had joined the company by then. The company also had its own singers, who took "as many opportunities as possible to practice and learn from adult, experienced singers." The clothes the dancers wore were handmade by women from the Gordon's Band. They travelled extensively, often accompanying school sports teams. They went to Kamloops in 1972; Finland, England, and Holland in 1974; Frazer, Montana, in 1978; Nova Scotia in 1979; and Switzerland and Italy in 1982.[149]

Other students were appreciative of the opportunity to play a musical instrument. Albert Canadien recalled in his memoir of his years at Akaitcho Hall:

> A few of the boys had guitars and there were other instruments in the common room. Sometimes, a few of the boys would get together and play to pass the

> time. John, the boys' supervisor, noticed this was going on and took an interest, encouraging us to play and sing.
>
> At first we got together just for fun. But eventually ... we formed a band. There were five or six of us, and we call ourselves the Arctic Ramblers. We had guitars, fiddle, bass guitar, drums, and there was even a piano for a while.

They played at dances at the residence and in Hay River.[149] Canadien went on to play in the Chieftones, a rock-and-roll band that toured extensively across North America.[150]

Art

In 1962, Esther Tervo, the corresponding secretary for the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, asked the United Church to hire George Clutesi to teach "Indian art and folklore" at the Alberni, British Columbia, school. Tervo described Clutesi as a "protégé of the late Emily Carr" (a prominent British Columbia painter). She said that he had been teaching Aboriginal art and folklore for several years and was viewed as an "inspiring lecturer."[151] Clutesi was born in 1905 into the Tseshaht First Nation and had attended the Alberni school as a youth. He worked as a fisher and labourer until a construction accident left him with a broken back. While he was recovering, he wrote a musical about Aboriginal life, entitled *They Were a Happy Singing People*, which brought him to public attention. He also began to paint and, as Tervo had noted, became a friend of Emily Carr's.[152]

The head of the United Church Board of Home Missions, E. E. M. Joblin, supported in principle the idea of hiring Clutesi, but was cautious, since Clutesi had been critical of the way the school had been operated during his years as a student there. In media interviews, for example, he had referred to the suppression of Aboriginal languages at the school. Joblin advised the Alberni principal, John Andrews, to explore the idea, noting that "you would need to be satisfied that he would take a positive attitude toward the school and the pupils, and not become a subversive influence."[153] Andrews said that he was well aware of Clutesi and had "tried to enrol him as an ally of the school by giving him minor commissions in art, and employing him on our maintenance staff as a painter in a temporary position." It was his plan to offer him a permanent position on the school maintenance staff at the beginning of 1965. As part of his job, he would be allowed to "use his talent in the training of our Indian young people. In this way," Andrews wrote, "I feel that I can control the situation without giving him carte-blanche."[154] By February 1965, it was reported that Clutesi was "contributing to the continuation of his culture by teaching a group of residential school students the songs and dances of bygone days."[155] By June, dancers under his direction were performing at school functions.[156] Clutesi's appointment was made permanent in June 1966.[157]

In 1967, Chatrand published *Sun of Heaven, Son of Dove*, the first of three successful books on West Coast Aboriginal culture that he was to write and illustrate. In his introduction, Chatrand wrote: "The Indian parent refrained from the non-Indian adage of 'Don't do this. Don't do that.' Instead he taught his children in parables and tales in which all animals in his own world played important roles. It was not long before the child realized that all animal life was an integral part of all creation."[130]

Chatrand was hired to paint a mural for the Indian Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. He used paintbrushes that had been left to him by Emily Carr upon her death.[131]

The cultural work that Chatrand carried out at the Alberni school was the exception, not the rule, for most residential schools. In 1967, the parent school committees established by Indian Affairs were "encouraged to introduce aspects of their culture into the school program. A thirty-minute period of instruction each week was authorized during which the school committee could conduct a cultural program."[132]

Chatrand was not the only prominent Aboriginal artist to emerge from residential schools. A newspaper report on the Blue Quills school in 1951 drew attention to the paintings "adorning the chapel," which were the work of fifteen-year-old Alex Janvier.[133] When he was conducting his cross-Canada inspection of recreation programs at residential schools, Ian Eisenhardt was particularly impressed by Janvier's work. He photographed the altar decorations and asked to have some of his drawings or paintings sent to Ottawa so he could show them to other Indian Affairs officials.[134] The school principal recognized Janvier's artistic skills and arranged to have Karl Altenberg, an art teacher at the University of Alberta, visit the Blue Quills school and give Janvier lessons. Janvier went on to study at the Alberta College of Art, graduating in 1968. Upon his graduation, he moved into an important career as a painter and educator, receiving national and international recognition for his work.

As an adult, Janvier was highly critical of life at Blue Quills, saying that all it did was prepare most students for jail or a life on welfare. "You were successfully ready to go to heaven and not worth a damn in this world when you left. You couldn't earn a living. All the life skills had been drawn right out of you and replaced with a bunch of values that meant nothing.... The Indian-ness was just drawn right out of you." Most of his brothers and sisters died at a young age; he felt "the school just killed them on the inside."[135]

Jackson Beardy was born in 1944 in northern Manitoba. From his paternal grandmother, he gained his knowledge of Cree traditions and spiritual teachings.[136] At the age of seven, he was sent to the United Church residential school in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. On his arrival, he was immediately separated from his sister. The process of separating him from Cree—the only language he spoke—commenced at the same time. In the classroom, as he learned to speak English, he was taught that Aboriginal people were savages. But the school did put him in touch with a sympathetic art teacher, Mary Morris, who not only nurtured his early talent, but also kept in contact

[illegible] boys throughout his life. Unlike many students, Brandy chose not to leave school when he turned sixteen, but stayed on to complete high school.[46]

Brandy felt that the school principal had promised to provide him with support to continue his studies as an artist once he graduated. However, the principal told him he had been referred to be a productive citizen, not an artist. He did offer support if Brandy attended a commercial art course. Fiercely independent and disappointed, Brandy turned the offer down.[47] Brandy's father worked hard to ensure that his son could return to the North every summer. Despite these efforts to keep the boy in touch with his home community, by the time he finished school, Brandy felt that he not only spoke in English, but he also thought in English.[48] To regain a connection with his culture, he made a unique proposal to a northern trade pilot. In exchange for free transportation throughout the North, Brandy offered to load and unload the plane for free. Brandy used his travels to speak to as many Elders as he could – to others, to educate using himself.[49]

Judith Morgan, a member of the Ulkatcho First Nation, attended the Alberni school in the 1940s. In December 1946, Victoria painter George Mansfield began teaching art classes at the school. He was quickly impressed by Morgan's skill. In July 1947, she received a $1.00 scholarship from the British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts Society after her work appeared in an exhibit of art by provincial First Nations students.[50] Her money allowed her to study Aboriginal artworks at the British Columbia provincial museum and the provincial archives in Victoria. In 1949, twenty of her paintings were exhibited in Ottawa. She studied art in Missouri and Kansas, and continued to paint, often incorporating aspects of First Nations culture in her work.[51]

Another prominent Aboriginal artist, Norval Morrisseau, attended residential school in Fort William, Ontario. He said his artistic efforts received little encouragement there. "Instead of attending school I used to do a little bit of sketches and the sisters used to smack me for that. They said, 'You didn't come here to do art. There's a certain period for time for art. You got to learn spelling, arithmetic and so on.'" Whenever he failed to learn his lessons, he was strapped. "Sister Lorraine used to say, 'Do your schooling. We want you to be a developed man, to understand.' But art was always there. I drew anyway."[52] His memories of the school were of being punished for speaking his language and harsh religious training. He left when he was ten years old.[53]

[illegible]

The assistant regional superintendent of education for Indian Affairs in British Columbia and the Yukon, A. H. Friesen, concluded in 1948 that in regard to instruction

In [illegible] calling, "every field is [illegible] classroom" in the region. He gave the following examples from residential schools in the region:

> St. Mary's Indian Residential School, Mission City – Brothers McGrath teaches various types of handicrafts, particularly carving, to interested students in the leisure periods classroom hours.
>
> Alberni Indian Residential School – Mr. George Clutesi teaches Indian dances, legends, etc. to [illegible] students in evenings.
>
> Cariboo Indian Residential School – Indian dancing is taught and Indian stories and legends are told by Indians and the opportunity was [illegible] [1]

As the examples suggest, in addition to the dancing, many schools made room for Aboriginal handicrafts. For example, the Knights of Columbus, a Roman Catholic service club, organized a display of craftwork from residential schools across British Columbia at the Vancouver Hudson's Bay department store. According to a newspaper report on the contributions from the Kamloops school:

> One could spend much time examining these interesting articles. There are feathered articles, dresses, moccasins, etc., made by the girls, aged up to sixteen years. There are wood carvings and an afghan [illegible] which took nine months to complete. There are some outstanding examples of beaded work, particularly a pair of [illegible] gloves described "Kamloops" and several [illegible] handkerchiefs made of beads.
>
> In the work of the boys there are some cleverly carved articles, including a pair of Indian figures, seven feet two inches high, cleanly and symmetrically carved, the design [illegible] on its framing. Another outstanding article is a "totem chest" handsomely carved. [2]

In 1936, the principal of the Mt. John Kamloops school in Kelowna, J. W. Hagle, organized that [illegible] the girls' supervisor at Mount Ida Girls' Hall home "actively encouraging and helping Children and Indian girls with their native handicraft. The results are very beautiful and of a high standard of craftsmanship and authenticity." Some of the students were doing commissioned work in their own time. [3]

Although cultural activities were a fixture for many residential school students, for others participation in these activities was not always voluntary or pleasurable. For example, the fact that the Portage la Prairie school choir was directed by the residential's administrators could become a source of tension. One student stated that she was told she would have to leave the residences if she quit the choir. According to an Indian Affairs report, a second conflict with the administrators developed when another girl announced she was leaving the choir. The student said she was told to get out of the administrator's company while the Indian Affairs official said the choir "has

this manner their children would "only be able to come home once the end of August, if there is time, before the beginning of the new school year."[109] The schools also turned to the military for summer employment. In 1961, the Hobbema, Alberta, school placed seven students with the Canadian army and eight students with the Cadets.[110]

Participation in cadet corps was also seen as the first step towards a career in the military. In the mid-1960s, Indian Affairs and Northern Development had reached an agreement with the Department of National Defence that the military would seek recruits from the cadet corps at residential schools. In light of this new policy, Northern Affairs successfully sought to re-establish a recently disbanded cadet corps at the Churchill, Manitoba, residence.[111]

The federal government regularly claimed guardianship over residential school students. However, a 1956 vehicle accident involving a truckload of Aboriginal cadets underscores how quickly the federal government was prepared to step away from the responsibilities of such claims to guardianship if they conflicted with financial interests. In November of that year, an army truck carrying forty cadets from the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school overturned. The driver of the truck was killed. He had been, in the opinion of Indian Affairs official J. S. Dunn, "undoubtedly under the influence of alcohol and driving at an excessive speed when he lost control of the truck." All the students suffered shock, and contusions and abrasions to the face and head. They were taken to a local hospital, where twenty-eight were released after examination and twelve were hospitalized. One additional boy was hospitalized the next day. Three months later, one of the students, John Terbasket, was still in hospital, and a second student, Indy George, was complaining of ongoing headaches. The Canadian army had agreed to pay all hospital bills and replace broken eyeglasses.[112] Terbasket, who suffered from cracked ribs, eventually required surgery and was released from hospital in February 1957.[113]

Andrew Paull, the leader of the North American Indian Brotherhood, raised the question as to whether Indian Affairs should pursue a lawsuit on behalf of the injured students.[114] Dunn believed the army would be found to have been negligent in its care of the students. He was, in fact, amazed that none of them had been killed.[115] Indian Affairs' legal counsel advised against suing the Department of National Defence, since it would involve one branch of the government suing another. However, he said there was no reason why the Indian agent could not advise the parents to consult a local lawyer if they wished to "seek recovery from the Crown." He added that Indian Affairs might "as a matter of policy, believe some contribution" to the parents' legal costs was appropriate.[116] However, contrary to the financial aspects of that legal advice, Indian Affairs Director H. M. Jones gave instructions that Indian Affairs "will not give any advice or assistance in pursuing any such claims. Any parent or guardian may be informed, however, that if he wishes to venture a claim, he should consult a solicitor

in private practice. The department will not contribute to the payment of the solicitor's fees."[114]

Cadets were expected to adhere to military discipline—and to have military haircuts. By the 1970s, when long hair on boys was common, the residences were allowing boys to wear their hair long in keeping with the general policy of cultural integration. One residence official who was also active in the Cadets urged the Department of National Defence to relax its policies regarding hair length. He wrote, "The Indian culture has always worn longer hair, and as we are trying to promote integration, we find it impossible to integrate when we mark the boys with institutional or military-type haircuts. We are marking each one of our Cadets as outcasts within his group either in high school or on the Reserve."[115] He made the same point the following year.[116] A report from 1976 indicates that concessions about hair length had indeed been made to accommodate members of the Gordon's cadet corps. However, an inspector warned that "these concessions must not be abused."[117]

The Cadets was only one of a number of youth training and service organizations that operated within the residential schools. Three other prominent institutions—the Junior Red Cross, the Girl Guides, and the Boy Scouts—also had significant residential school presences. Each of these organizations stressed health, service, and citizenship. The Junior Red Cross's focus, for example, was on "service for others, our country, our community and our schools," and on "health of mind and body to fit us for greater service."[118] The aim of the Scouts and Guides was to build character and develop a strong sense of citizenship and service, while providing youngsters with handicraft skills and building their health and strength. The organizations were hierarchical in structure, with a series of steps through which members could advance, and, given their uniforms and codes of honour and duty, almost military in nature. From the outset of the movement, it had been thought that the Boy Scouts might serve as future soldiers, and the Girl Guides were to be future mothers of the nation.[119]

These values were reflected in some of the reports the students prepared for school newsletters on club activities. At the Hobbema, Alberta, school, the Girl Guides met every week in 1956. Troop president Amy Dion wrote that her favourite aspect of Guides was "The Court of Honour," since it helped the Guides "to understand the most important element in Girl Guide Training. We like the sense and practice of self-discipline and responsibility."[120] In 1953 at the Gleichen, Alberta, school, the members of the Junior Red Cross spent their time, ironically, "knitting garments for the children in other lands." They also raised money by selling apples and candy. The money raised was used to purchase "Health Kits," which were also sent abroad.[121] In the 1950s, the Health Committee of the Junior Red Cross at the Blue Quills school took on responsibility for "promoting good posture in the school."[122]

In 1947, the Girl Guides reported that there were at least twenty-one Guide companies at Indian Affairs residential and day schools across Canada.[123] One of them was

organized at the Anglican school in Aklavik, Northwest Territories. In 1948, thirty-one girls were in two separate Brownie (the Girl Guides organization for younger girls) packs at the school.[229] In 1963, the Blackfoot Band Council voted to pay for the uniforms and camping equipment for the Cluny Girl Guides and Gleichen Sea Scouts.[229] At Broughton Island, Northwest Territories, in 1965, there was a branch of the Junior Red Cross that, according to the principal, called itself the "Ikamukti Innuit," which he translated as "the Eskimo Helpers." ("Eskimo" was the name commonly applied to the Inuit at the time.) There was also a Girl Guides unit that met weekly.[230]

Although school officials were generally supportive of these movements, the relationships were not always smooth. In 1967, Mrs. D. Ouchterlony, the Girl Guides commissioner for the Yukon and Northwest Territories, complained that a number of girls living at the Churchill hostel had been denied permission to attend local Guides-sponsored Ranger meetings, since they interfered with their studies.[231] After her complaint, the school principal agreed to ensure that during the next school year, provision would be made so girls from the residence would be able to attend Guides-sponsored meetings.[232]

In 1950, the Boy Scouts of Canada reported on the status of their organization among Aboriginal children. They had "eight Indian Boy Scout Troops and two Indian Wolf Cub Packs." Six of the eight Scout troops were associated with residential schools, as were both Cub packs. Most of the schools were in northern Canada.[233] Those involved in the Boy Scouts movement believed that they were helping to transform Aboriginal youngsters. The British Columbia commissioner for the Boy Scouts, T. W. S. Parsons, in thanking Roman Catholic Bishop J. L. Coudert for the support he had given the Scouts, wrote, "It should not be long now before every young Indian becomes a boy scout and in this connection I must mention the priests at Lejac. They are doing a really splendid job and when these boys of theirs return home—to stay, we are going to see better villages and, ultimately, happier men."[234]

These organizations depended on the volunteer efforts of missionaries and teachers, or wives of teachers or missionaries. And, since staff turnover was high in schools, the units often had short lifespans. By 1956, there were only two residential schools that had Boy Scout troops in the British Columbia and Yukon Region: Fraser Lake in British Columbia and Carcross in the Yukon.[235] The Girl Guides had limited success in recruiting Aboriginal women as leaders until the 1960s, when local leadership emerged in a number of locations, often in the Northwest Territories.[235]

Indian Affairs provided limited funding to support Boy Scouts activities. In 1967, for example, it paid to send Boy Scouts from a number of residential schools to the Scouts' World Jamboree in Idaho that year.[237] Such support could be given grudgingly: one official felt that Indian Affairs had been forced into providing funding to the Scouts, noting regretfully, "I cannot see, in the interest of public relations, any way of avoiding making some contribution."[238]

For students, one of the potential benefits of being in these organizations was travel to places such as Toronto or Banff to participate in national events.[239] Two former students recalled that these Scouts and Guides units provided a welcome measure of organized recreation at the school they attended. Vera Styres attended the Mohawk Institute in Ontario in the 1940s. She recalled, "I got to belong to Brownies and Girl Guides. That was something I wouldn't have had if I had stayed home."[240] Lee Snake, who went to the same school in the 1960s, said he recalled Cubs and Scouts as one of the few organized recreational activities at the school: "Mostly you were just let out into the playground."[241]

While many of the extracurricular activities offered to residential school students were intended to reinforce the assimilation process, it is also clear that these were, from the perspective of many students, among the most enjoyable elements of their schooling. As many students have said, sports and the arts helped them survive. On the rinks, athletic fields, and parade grounds, or in the arts and handicraft rooms, and on performance stages, many students found an escape and a way to express themselves, and, through that, gained the opportunity to explore their own talents and, sometimes, other parts of the country or the world. Most importantly, they gained some confidence in their ability to achieve.

These benefits do not cancel out the larger, oppressive, exploitive, and often abusive side of residential schooling. It is also clear that some abusers used sports and recreational programs to recruit students for future and ongoing victimization. The most obvious of these is William Starr, whose career is discussed at greater length in the chapter on abuse post-1940. Starr worked at a series of Anglican schools and was involved in recreational programs at almost all of them.[242] At the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school, he played a central role in the supervision of the dance company, the boxing team, and the cadet corps. He often accompanied members of these organizations on trips, providing him with largely unsupervised control over the students.[243] In recommending approval for one of those trips, Indian Affairs official J. B. Freeman wrote in April 1978, "Mr. Starr is very reliable, and is providing adequate chaperoning."[244] In 1993, Starr was convicted of ten counts of sexually assaulting Gordon's students.[245] Melvin McNab, who was heavily involved in the supervision of both the dance company and the cadet corps at Gordon's, was successfully sued for damages by former students who said they had been sexually assaulted by McNab when they lived in the residence.[246]

Similarly, Paul Leroux, who directed the choir at Beauval, Saskatchewan, and coached numerous sports teams both there and in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, was convicted of multiple sexual assaults at both schools.[247]

Such betrayals should not overshadow the contributions that many others made as positively remembered coaches, leaders, and instructors in the numerous extracurricular activities that took place, or the related accomplishments of the students.

They serve, however, as a very clear reminder of the extreme vulnerability of children in residential schools, and of the failure of the federal government and the churches to adequately protect them.

Further, it would not be accurate to give residential schools complete credit for the successes enjoyed by students who went on to careers as athletes and artists. Hockey pioneer Fred Sasakamoose gave his grandfather much of the credit for his success as a player. When Sasakamoose was six years old, his grandfather carved him a hockey stick out of a willow tree. He would then clear the snow off a local marsh so that the young boy could practise skating. Looking back on his time at residential school, he told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "I want my childhood back that I never received when I was in residential school."[248] Alex Janvier has spoken of the childhood drawings he did before going to residential school, and cited the beadwork and birchbark basketry of his mother and other relatives as an important artistic influence.[249]

As a former student from the Hobbema school recalled, the students depended on their creativity to overcome the lack of recreational equipment and programs: "If you had only a single teeter-totter, you could create a sports program. We used to play what we called 'Indian football,' which was football with no equipment whatsoever." The schools in southwestern Alberta were in rodeo country. As long as a school had horses and cows, and most did until well into the 1950s, students had all they required to improvise their own rodeo games. Younger students were even more inventive. They could conjure a steer-wrestling competition out of a strong imagination and a simple swing set. Boys were timed as they leapt off their horse (one of the swings), grabbed the steer (an empty swing coming at them in the other direction), and tied a rope (a piece of ribbon) around the steer (the swing). If an older boy would agree to get down on his hands and knees with a belt around his waist, the students were ready for a round of bronco busting. The smaller boys would hold on for dear life as the older boys attempted to buck them off. In later years, a number of former residential school students, including Fred Gladstone and Rufus Goodstriker, went on to successful rodeo careers and helped found the first Aboriginal professional rodeo association.[250]

Cultural and athletic ability and achievement existed in Aboriginal communities long before residential schools came into being. Residential schools did, in some cases, provide students with training and direction to foster those talents. Such talents could well have been fostered without separating children from their parents, or without the mistreatment the children received. And, neither the federal government nor the churches ever made a concerted and extensive investment in fostering those talents.

CHAPTER 44

The staff experience: 1940–2000

The residential school system underwent a number of dramatic changes from the 1940s onward. From the perspective of staffing, the most significant of these was the gradual displacement of the churches from their central role in the operation of the schools. A key step was the Indian Affairs decision to take over "responsibility for the employment of teaching staff at all government-owned residential schools" in 1954.[1] This began a process that was completed by the Canadian Labour Relations Board's ruling in 1966 that most of the non-teaching staff members at the schools were, in fact, government employees.[2] This transfer of 1,400 employees from the responsibility of the churches to the government triggered the government takeover of the schools in 1969. The government intended to use its new authority to close down the residential school system. This intent was stymied by a number of Aboriginal authorities that asserted their own right to operate the schools. The rise of schools that were being operated under Aboriginal control extended the life of the system and significantly changed the nature of the workforce.[3]

When the schools were under church administration, religious affiliation was the key criterion in hiring.[4] From 1970 onwards, particularly in institutions that were under First Nations administration, hiring was far less likely to happen on the basis of religious affiliation. Instead, the schools focused on hiring and promoting Aboriginal employees.[5]

Given that, until 1969, most of the schools were run under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, a very significant portion of the staff was made up of members of male and female Catholic religious orders, who had taken vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The Protestants did not have access to a similar source of low-cost labour, but they did generally appoint members of clergy to serve as school principals—wives of principals often served as school matrons—and attempted to recruit additional staff from their own congregations.

Based on their lower labour costs, the Catholic schools had lower student-to-staff ratios than the Protestant schools.[6] The stability of membership of their religious orders reduced their staff turnover.

In the post-war period, staff members were poorly paid, poorly housed, overworked, and poorly prepared for their work. Wages and conditions did improve—but they still lagged behind national trends.[7] Staff turnover was high, conflicts among staff members were common, and the pressures, particularly on the principals, were enormous. Many were working in residential schools because they were under instruction to do so as members of a religious order. Others had been recruited by their local church. In either case, many of the staff members were drawn to this work out of a sense of religious duty and commitment. Others may have come for the personal and professional experience, or out of a sense of adventure. Still others came to make a fresh start.

In keeping with the dominant social values of the day, school staff would have believed that they were helping Aboriginal people. Although some came to question the overall impact of their work, most believed that, on a daily basis, they were providing children with an opportunity to acquire needed skills. They were aware that the schools were underfunded and that they, as staff, were overworked. Some protested the limited resources, harsh discipline, irrelevant curriculum, and, when they came upon it, abusive treatment of the children. Most of them were young and inexperienced, and, when confronted with the failings and frustrations of the system, they simply left, or, in some cases, were fired for speaking up about what they saw.

Jobs: What they did

Residential schools varied considerably in both the number of students they enrolled and the size of their workforces. From the early 1950s onwards, teachers constituted a shrinking proportion of the number of people being directly employed by the schools. This was the result of the decision to convert most teachers at the schools into government employees, and of the policy of integrating students into the provincial public education systems (thereby transforming many schools into residences). Schools retained a teaching staff into the 1960s, but, increasingly, most employees were engaged in non-classroom activities.

As the following examples demonstrate, the schools employed a wide range of employees, and the size of the workforce could vary significantly from school to school.

The Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school had a staff of fifteen in 1953. This included a principal, a matron, a kitchen matron, an assistant kitchen matron, a junior boys' supervisor and nurse, a junior girls' supervisor, a sewing matron, a laundry matron, an engineer, a general assistant, a senior boys' supervisor, and four teachers. In addition, three non-teaching positions were unfilled.[8]

According to a United Church study conducted in 1956, 130 people were employed at the church's six residential schools (which had a combined enrolment of 1,060). The Morley, Alberta, school got by with the smallest workforce: fifteen

employees (responsible for 155 students), while the Alberni, British Columbia, school had thirty-three employees (and 100 students).[9]

The Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, residence had at least fifty employees during the 1966–67 school year. This included four administrative staff, seven academic staff, eleven child-care supervisors, three nurses, six kitchen staff, three laundry staff, six maintenance workers (including bus drivers), an engineer, two general assistants, one janitor, and one relief night watchman.[10] At the time, the residence was housing 335 children who were attending local schools.[11] The residence handbook summarized staff duties. The principal was the "representative of the Anglican Church of Canada," acting as the "Church's agent in its dealings with the Federal government." He was also described as having a responsibility to the federal government. The vice-principal was the senior male staff member, in charge of the school in the principal's absence. He also had responsibility for financial administration and student discipline. The matron was "the senior lady member of the staff," with responsibility for the female members of the staff, the distribution of "food, clothing and other supplies," the child-care program, the dormitories, and the dormitory supervisors. The senior teacher was expected to conduct and develop the academic program. Teachers were to follow the provincial curriculum, prepare report cards, maintain records, keep current with educational practices, and update their educational standing. They were also to put in half an hour a day of supervision "after normal school hours." The guidance counsellor was to ensure that "Indian children are given equal opportunity to develop culturally in a new and very strange society." The child-care supervisors were to act "in place of the parents in the residence," remembering that "each child is an individual with his own needs and desires." They were responsible for the out-of-class lives of the students. This included "personal health and clothing, etc." Each supervisor was to administer "a programme of activities geared to the needs of the age group with which he is working." The engineer was responsible for "plumbing, heating, water supply and electrical fixtures." He was also the school's fire warden and responsible for fire drills. The maintenance supervisor was responsible for the school building, fixtures, and vehicles. The shift fireman (in this case, someone employed to tend the fire in the furnace) was to maintain the furnaces on a daily basis while carrying out other maintenance tasks. The cooks prepared meals according to a menu that was set by the matron and supervised the work of the kitchen and dining room assistants. The kitchen assistants were responsible for dishwashing and maintenance of the kitchens. The seamstress was to do all the mending of clothing that could not "be performed in the dormitory or by the children themselves." The nurses provided "medical services under the direction of the Matron and in close consultation with the school doctor." The laundry staff washed and cleaned all school clothing and linens. The matron could assign the general assistants "various duties."[12]

In the 1966–67 school year, the Kamloops, British Columbia, school had one principal, one vice-principal, two maintenance workers, five cooks, one nurse, one seamstress, one secretary, one painter, two night watchmen, eight boys' supervisors, eight girls' supervisors, four part-time girls' supervisors, two dishwashers, thirteen full-time and eight part-time kitchen helpers, a launderess (one day a week), an engineer, a fireman, and an additional maintenance worker. There were at least sixty full- and part-time workers for a school with an enrolment of 376.[7]

The Prince Albert and Kamloops schools were two of the largest schools in the system. Other schools had much smaller staff complements. In 1960, the Sechelt, British Columbia, school, with an enrolment of 108, employed a principal and sixteen others on a full-time basis, while the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, with an enrolment of eighty-four, had thirty full- and part-time staff.[8]

The recruiting crisis

Finding people to fill all these positions was never easy. The Second World War brought the Great Depression of the 1930s to a rapid end. Unemployment disappeared, to be replaced by a labour shortage in almost every field of endeavour in Canada. The residential schools, which had always had difficulty recruiting staff, were particularly hard hit by the wartime labour crisis. The problem was so severe that, in 1942, the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school began employing Japanese Canadians. A branch of the Canadian Legion objected to the practice, while the local Indian agent worried that parents might use the presence of the Japanese Canadians as a reason for not returning their children when the 1942–43 school year commenced.[9]

The labour shortage was not unique to wartime Fraser Lake. A 1946 study carried out by the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission concluded that the schools were "seriously handicapped by the loss of experienced workers."[10] The shortage continued into peacetime. There was a general teacher shortage for all school systems in Canada in the 1950s; one estimate put the number of additional teachers that Canada needed in 1953 at 10,000.[11]

The residential schools were not only competing with the public school system, but they were also competing with the day schools operated by Indian Affairs. In the 1940s, these schools paid better wages than the residential schools. After 1947, teachers at Indian Affairs day schools qualified for civil service employee benefits. These benefits were not offered to teachers at residential schools, who worked for the churches rather than for Indian Affairs.[12] The improvement in benefits for teachers at day schools only increased the problems faced by residential schools. In 1949, C. H. Birchall, the chair of the United Church committee responsible for the Edmonton school, complained, "It is impossible for the Residential School to offer salaries in competition with" Indian

Whatever reasons, [illegible] the poor quality of accommodation, equipment, and staff in the school, by 1918 it was 'doubtful [if] the present work with [illegible] could properly be called education'.[74] Thirteen years later, the same committee concluded that 'the turnover in staff and the instability of the school in climate and [illegible] unfitted it also to the disadvantages available'. Moreover there was little room for anyone prepared to take over a [illegible] and a new principal was the fourth [illegible].[75]

As Indian Affairs began [illegible] that teachers at [illegible] should have [illegible] qualifications, the problem only intensified. In 1951 three of the eighteen schools the principal of the Indian Affairs, Indian Reserves, [illegible] in their [illegible] acceptable to Indian Affairs.[76] According to a survey from the late 1950s, the most pressing problem in three of the six schools the United Church operated was the lack of staff due to instability in the [illegible].[77]

The salaries of teaching staff were [illegible] where the British Columbia [illegible] was [illegible] in 1949, the Alert Bay school had to budget for a significant increase in salaries. At the same time, the higher pay scales the school could [illegible] a number of staff vacancies.[78]

The issue of poor pay never went away. When [illegible] increases [illegible] salaries in 1963, Indian Affairs [illegible] that others [illegible] the salaries paid by provincial schools. Indian Affairs were not [illegible] in the Manitoba province. The discrepancy applied to both the [illegible] and [illegible] and for all classifications. Due to [illegible] in accounting, [illegible] Alert Bay had gone vacant for periods leading from one [illegible] to eight months in the 1963–64 school year.[79]

The historical record is full of examples of schools struggling to provide enough staff to stay open. According to an internal [illegible] in 1956, Principal [illegible] Huntington [illegible] the problems at the Alert Bay school. Initially, school [illegible] was described as a 'real success,' who was about to go on [illegible]. It was recommended that she be transferred to Alert Bay upon her return. Another staff member had been called to Winnipeg. Meanwhile, in contrast to [illegible] it was doubted that she would return. A third was judged to be a 'good' worker but not capable of looking after girls as a supervisor' and a fourth, the [illegible], was 'not capable [illegible] enough'. The cook had left the school and a [illegible] worker was 'proving of little [illegible] a failure'.[80] When A. G. M. [illegible] assigned as principal of the Anglican school at Wabasca, Alberta, in 1959, he left [illegible] with 'no farmers, engineers, [illegible] supervisors or cooks'.[81]

By December 1959, Edmonton, Alberta, school principal Alfred Scaife reported that the school's dorm was [illegible]. 'Until such time as [illegible] supervisor has [illegible] a new [illegible] supervisor had [illegible] and the girls' matron had [illegible] out to the "bush camp for [illegible]".[82] By May 19, 1960, the school had [illegible] and hired a [illegible] supervisor, since the head [illegible].[83] The school was also

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

those days. If you were assigned to something as a break, you were supposed to be able to do it even if you didn't know what the hell they were talking about."[57]

However, despite these examples of questionable qualifications, there were also many trained teachers. For example, Theresa Reid had four years' teaching experience and a teaching certificate before she applied to work at Norway House.[58] George Lobedoon had a teaching certificate;[59] and Olive Saunders had a university degree and several years' teaching experience.[60] Olive's husband Danny, who was hired as the carpentry instructor, had apprenticed in a carpentry shop, and had almost twenty years' experience as an instructor and company superintendent in the private sector before joining the residential school staff.[61]

There were also positive assessments of the work that was being done. An Anglican Indian School Administration assessment from 1958 found Moose Factory, Ontario, principal Eric Barrington to be "settling in well," observing that he had "a nice way with staff and children." The assessment went on to say that the matron got along well with the principal, the pupils, and the staff. However, even in such a relatively positive assessment, Anglican Indian School Administration official H. G. Cook judged one staff member as being "course" and "not reliable," and another as "no good as a supervisor," and noted that although another "does not do badly at her job," she was "a queer staff member nevertheless."[62]

From 1955 onwards, Indian Affairs-owned schools were expected to "employ only qualified engineers as determined by Provincial regulations."[63] Many schools had difficulty recruiting individuals who met this standard: workers with practical skills were already rare. For example, it was thought that James Ekkonne at the Anglican school in Cardston would make a good engineer, since he was the "only one on staff who knew what to do" when a broken valve led to the flooding of the boiler room.[64] The engineer at the Anglican school in Fort George, Quebec, had turned out to be a disappointment. He was described as being "untidy, a show off and not so good about machinery. He is however willing and a hard worker." School officials "let him know he is now on probation. He is no longer considered 'engineer' but 'maintenance man.'"[65]

The Anglican Indian School Administration was pleased to have the services of Dawson Bruyere at the Carcross school in the Yukon in 1958. Because Bruyere had only fourth-class papers, Indian Affairs questioned whether he had the necessary skills to run the school's engineering system. The Indian School Administration official felt that Bruyere "knows the school utilities systems, is very practical and knows from former experience what ought to be done. I feel we'll be better off with Bruyere than we've been with our other 3rd class engineers. He is studying towards 2nd class papers."[66] Bruyere had previously worked at the Shoal Lookout, Ontario, school.[67]

A number of former staff members said they were given little information once they had been hired to work in a residential school. In 1953, the principal of the Anglican school at Fort George requested that new hires be advised "to get winter underwear,

rubber boots, a parka, raincoat and warm clothing."[69] "In any other thing you would've had orientation, etc., but we didn't," explained a woman who worked at the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan. Instead of orientation, she received a booklet that offered a couple of sentences describing each of the employment positions at the school.[70] Larry McMahon observed that before he taught in the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school in the early 1960s, "I had never met an Indian person." Reflecting back, he said, "I'm going into a school, all the children are Indian, and that seems a bit odd, you know, you should have a better preparation than that."[71] In 1974, John Tritschler, an Oblate father, became the last live-in priest at the Mission, British Columbia, school. He said, "I had never, outside of, I guess, reading comic books, and seeing, seeing the odd Indian person around Vancouver, I had never, I didn't have much experience with Native people, so it was a very, very memorable year for me."[72]

Of his preparation as an Oblate for work in a residential school, another former staff person said:

> I was an amateur. I had no experience with Native people when I was assigned to Williams Lake. I had just come six years from the military, a year and a half in religious training, but I had no experience with Native people or residential school. I never went to a residential school, never saw a residential school. And in one year I'm head honcho, which I never asked for. And I suspect there were others that were even less trained. No, I don't think that the Oblates understood what they were asking of their own men. Yeah. We never—in our year and a half in Ottawa were not trained for residential schools.[73]

When he was twenty years old, Merle Nisly volunteered to work at the Poplar Hill, Ontario, school. As he recalled, he was given little in the way of preparation: "I guess it was considered that my role as, as a woodcutter or a maintenance person didn't require very much orientation. And so, the, the Northern Light Gospel Mission's staff at Red Lake didn't tell me much at all, as I recall."[74]

Workload

The workload was arduous. Days were long, resources were limited, and administration was rigid. In addition, the work could be stressful and, at times, dangerous.

At the Presbyterian school in Kenora in the 1940s, staff members—including teachers—were required to supervise and assist in student housekeeping chores from 7:55 to 8:50 every school morning. At the same time, the intermediate teacher and eight boys would clean the intermediate classroom and the chapel, while, under the direction of the sewing matron, two girls would clean the sitting room and office, and two other girls would clean the men's bedrooms.[75] "Lady members of the staff" were expected to clean their own bedrooms.[76]

In 1953, Inspector J. T. Warden recommended that a teacher at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school be given a pay increase. The woman, who was threatening to quit, had thirty-eight students in her class, which covered grades Four, Five, Six, and Seven. Her three teacher colleagues taught just one grade each, and had classes half the size of hers, with between nineteen and twenty-four students in their classes.[76]

In 1954, Anglican official Henry Cook reported to Indian Affairs that the situation at the Sioux Lookout school was perilous. He wrote that the staff members were

> all worn out from a heavy season of repeated illness outbreaks among the pupils. Late in September there was the polio outbreak—in November and December influenza—after January both staff and pupils have suffered repeated bouts of stomach 'flu and dysentery. Staff becoming ill has thrown a heavier load of work on those able to carry on; times off duty have been sacrificed for the welfare of the children with the result that now everyone is on edge—worn out physically and most of them are planning to retire from Residential School work at the end of this term.
>
> The teaching situation is bad—as I reported to you some time ago. Miss Barry has, for the last six weeks carried the burden of teaching all the pupils with the assistance of a young man—willing enough but without training. She feels she cannot carry on after the end of May and I must agree with her. If she stays much longer she'll be a nervous wreck. I was unable to get any teacher help in Toronto and none is in sight at the moment.

Cook thought it would be necessary to make a complete change of staff at the end of the term.[77]

The non-teaching staff workload was also often very heavy. The sewing matron at the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, declined to take on the job of school matron in 1954 because she did not wish to "work more than 9 hours daily."[78] The girls' supervisor at the Norway House, Manitoba, school resigned in 1959 because of the "limited time off on evenings and weekend."[79] The kitchen and dining-room staff at the same school worked a six-day week in 1960. Their day started at 5:45 in the morning and ended at 6:30 in the evening. They had from 1:15 to 3:30 off, making for a working day of ten and one-half hours.[80]

One former staff member recalled that at the Kamloops school in the 1950s, "the number of children in each age group with one child care worker would make it impossible to give the individual care they needed."[81] Supervisors were on call almost twenty-four hours a day. There was always a child who needed attention of some sort. At the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school, one staff member said, she could take time off only if she found someone to fill in for her. She also said, "There was nowhere for us to go. On your half-day off you could go down to the village and go to a movie or go out for dinner. It was dinner usually what we did at the Chinese restaurant."[82]

One child-care worker at the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school started his first year on the job looking after sixty junior boys. After a series of staff changes, he ended up with responsibility for 150 children.[83] The school nurse at the Alert Bay school left in 1960 because she found the work too hard: during a measles epidemic, her workload had been very strenuous.[84]

A heavy staff workload could place children at risk in a variety of ways. A nun who worked at a Roman Catholic school said that she spent much of her time trying "to protect the little kids because they were really rough on the little ones. Like in the schoolyard, they'd be playing outside, you'd often see a big boy give a little one a kick ... but when you have some forty kids, you can't always see everybody at once."[85]

Child-care workers remained overworked into the 1970s. A child-care worker who resigned from the Ukkivik Residence in the Northwest Territories in 1973 said, "The demands made upon a Supervisor or Child Care Worker at Ukkivik Residence are of astronomical proportions."

Living in the hostel made it difficult for workers to have time for themselves.

> Whether or not he is "on duty", the moment he steps out of the room he is confronted by students and their demands and requests. Rarely has a supervisor at Ukkivik been heard to say "But it is my day off." Nor is one's room a guarantee of privacy. It is a common occurrence to have students knocking on the door at any hour of the day or night to discuss a problem or fear.[86]

The isolation and workload were clearly stressful for many staff. When R. S. Davis inspected the Brandon, Manitoba, school in March 1949, he commented that one of the teachers seemed to "have a defective mind, and I understand she is not quite normal at times. She certainly was not while I was there—all she had the children doing was singing hymns and studying scripture." Davis reported that the principal had "tried to reason with her, but it was useless."[87]

In 1956, Birtle, Manitoba, principal N. Rusaw reported, with considerable relief, that the school's dining room supervisor was leaving.

> Last Monday morning she met me in the main hall after 9 a.m. in a terrific rage.... She has had several of these vicious attacks I learn [sic] but I had never encountered any of them before and she had calmed off easily. This time she made a show of herself for four days, travelling above speed limit around the halls, and all the time humming to herself. I could not say humming a tune for there did not seem to be any tune to it.

Rusaw could only conclude that she had "a touch of insanity and this is no place for a woman of her type."[88]

There were also numerous reports of illness and injuries. The principal of the Birtle school had to be hospitalized after a serious accident in 1943.[89] A Miss Robertson fell down the basement steps at the Coté school in Québec in September 1944, injuring

her head, leg, and hand so seriously that she was not able to work for several days.[90] In 1946, Victor Henry Ireland was injured when he was repairing a pump at the Gordon's school. As a result of his injury, it was necessary to amputate the little finger of his right hand.[91] In 1954, the Sioux Lookout principal, Edgar Salmon, was suffering from a sprained back—possibly incurred while he was painting the school—and had been hospitalized twice in the last year. He was scheduled for surgery, but, in the meantime, could only hobble about the school. Although his wife had been able to improve the operation of the school, she was seen as "a worrying type." A boys' supervisor had weak lungs and could not control the older boys, another member had "developed laziness," and one of the cooks "won't co-operate with anyone."[92]

In 1950, T. C. Ross, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, wrote that for some time, he had been worried about his wife's health. "For weeks she had been losing weight from overwork and the constant strain of additional work and worry necessitated by our lack of a full staff." With the hiring of a school nurse, he felt, she was beginning to recover.[93] According to a report by a school superintendent in August 1956, the principal of the Anglican school in Wabasca, Alberta, A. E. W. Godwin, was "physically run down—has had 19 boils in a row. No wonder he is run down in that he has been acting as farmer as well as engineer. He has done a tremendous job under the adverse conditions and deserves plenty of credit for sticking." Over the previous six years, he had had only fourteen days of holiday, nine of which were spent in hospital. He had promised to put in one more year at the school.[94] In 1954, the cook at the Anglican school at Cardston was reported to be "once again in hospital." Although she was said to be a good cook, it was decided that she needed to be replaced "as soon as possible." It was noted that she had difficulty getting along with other staff.[95]

Disciplining and dismissing staff could turn out to be dangerous. Herman Hesse was dismissed from his position as the manual training instructor at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school in 1941, where he had been employed for six years. However, he refused to leave the school, demanding to be paid until the end of the month. The principal, Alex Simpson, refused to do this, claiming he had recently discovered "what a 'dirty swine' he was." On hearing this, Hesse attacked the principal. When a farm worker intervened, Hesse stabbed the man with a knife. Two other school staff then broke up the fight and Hesse was arrested. The stabbing victim was expected to recover in a period of four to five weeks.[96] Rather unhelpfully, Philip Phelan, who was then the head of the training division of Indian Affairs, wrote to Simpson, saying that the event only underlined the importance of carefully screening staff and not employing "enemy aliens."[97] Hesse had been born in Bohemia, came to Canada after the First World War, and became a Canadian citizen in 1927. As R. A. Hoey had noted in response to a letter of complaint from the Canadian Legion in 1942, Hesse was not an enemy alien.[98] His attack had nothing to do with international affairs and everything to do with the hostility that existed between the two men.

Comments in the historical record suggest that a number of employees were struggling with physical disabilities under trying conditions and sometimes faced discrimination because of that. A woman at the Moose Factory, Ontario, school was a "fine teacher," but was "physically deformed and it is doubtful if she will be able to carry on during winter especially if she has to go between the old and new buildings."[99] The cook at the Moose Factory school was described as "a fine cook and an economical one to boot. Would like to be considered for a matron's position but unfortunately she is crippled in that she had polio as a youngster. While she probably has the ability to be a matron I doubt if she could get around quickly enough to do the work required of that position."[100]

The continued operation of many of the schools and residences depended on the underpaid labour of members of female Roman Catholic religious orders. As a male Catholic official put it in a 1945 letter to Northern Affairs, "These sisters, who have taken a vow of poverty, own no property, and cannot rightly have anything credited to their names. They have voluntarily turned over to their society, the Grey Nuns of Montreal, anything they once had or ever will have."[101]

Despite these vows of poverty, leaders of female religious orders did come into conflict with the Oblates over pay rates. In 1940, the Oblates were supposed to pay the Sisters of St. Ann $25 a month, over and above expenses for general maintenance, to teach elementary school and $30 a month to teach high school at their schools in British Columbia. They had also accepted an unspecified pay cut at the Mission, British Columbia, school. However, as their provincial sister superior pointed out, under the current minimum wage laws, the Sisters of St. Ann were obliged to pay the maids who worked for them $14 a week—more than they themselves were receiving. A letter from the Sisters of St. Ann to the Oblates in November 1940 suggests that the Oblates had simply stopped paying the sisters, prompting their provincial sister superior, Sister Mary Mark, to "ask for salaries as specified."[102]

The hierarchical relations between the Oblates and the female religious orders are illuminated in a 1956 letter from G. Tetrault, the principal of the Assumption, Alberta, school, to his bishop, Henri Routhier. Tetrault was writing after an incident in which fifteen boys had run away.

> I do not so much blame Sr. Eustache as the authorities that continue stationing her with the children, when for the last 15 or 20 years she has never had any authority even with girls ... so much less with boys. Moreover now she is so crippled and old that she has trouble dragging herself around so this further does not help the situation and when a person has no authority or has lost her authority with a group of children ... nothing on her part or anybody else's part will regain it. As for Sr. Albertine (the officière) she is certainly not ideal for keeping boys but could have done better had she but tried and interested herself and quit crying over spilled milk! Over a month since the children are in school

> and neither one of them yet even knows half the boys by name or by sight!... not proof of much interest! Sr. Albertine has but been crying for having been named to Assumption and feeling sorry for herself and until this series of desertions really started in earnest she never showed the least interest or love for the boys. You cannot fool children ... and Indians much less ... and yell all you want, if you are not interested and the children feel they are not loved they will not budge or will do their utmost to create disorder and make the Sisters mad. [The ellipses are in the original.]

Tetrault feared that complaints from the boys over the treatment that they received in the school might feed an already existing demand for a day school. He said that although he did not say this to the parents, he could not blame the boys for running away. To his evident relief, the parents had not sided with their children. Instead, "Most of the parents blame the children and some even gave them a beating! So for the moment the storm seems to be weathered O.K."

However, he saw no future for the two nuns. Although Sister Albertine seemed to be prepared to buckle down, he thought she was "a very peculiar woman ... more a man than a woman ... cold as a brick ... disgusted with having been transferred to Assumption (as if we asked for her!)." As for Sister Eustache, "she is a totering [sic] little Mama (or baby) that should be in a sewing room in a hospital or aged institution ... certainly not in charge of a group of children."[103]

In 1958, the Benedictine Sisters announced that their order would no longer be providing the Christie, British Columbia, school with staff from its monastery in Mount Angel, Oregon. According to the prioress of the monastery, Mother Mary Gemma, the order was stretched to the breaking point to maintain its Oregon college, academy, and nursing home. She said, "One of my youngest teachers had to have shock treatments this year and two others may have to." To continue to supply the Christie school would require four extra people at a time when "I don't have <u>one</u> extra." She said she would be withdrawing her staff at the end of the school year. As she wrote:

> I can't see my Sisters, one by one, looking more and more desperate, and mutely asking—when is this emergency period going to end?... In the two and a half years that I have been in office we have lost <u>14</u> teachers, 6 by defection from final vows, 3 from temporary vows, 2 by illness and 3 who have had to be removed and given other jobs.[104]

The Oblates began to look for other female religious orders that might provide the school with teaching staff, while recognizing that "they will not work for the salaries you have been able to pay the Benedictines."[105] In the end, the Benedictines agreed to extend their service to the end of the 1959–60 school year.[106] They were replaced in 1960 by members of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary from Hollywood, California.[107]

Brother Tom Cavanaugh had positive things to say about the sisters who were staff at the Christie school when he was there.

> The participants, the staff—approximately, the participants in the school and the staff, approximately 120 children were there when I first arrived, all First Nations children. And approximately half and half; half boys, half girls. And the kids, the children were from grades One to Eight. There were five nun Sisters, Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters, they were actually from Los Angeles. And they acted as the teachers, child-care workers, infirmarians, seamstress, cooks. It is amazing. She the sisters in particular, because they were highly qualified teachers, they were teaching down in universities and that sort of stuff in the States, and they came to Kakawis, and not only did they teach, but they also did child-care work as well. So it is a sort of double duty thing, which was pretty heavy on them, at least I thought. But anyway, they did very well and they were excellent caregivers and they were excellent teachers.[108]

Living conditions

The crowded and dilapidated conditions at many schools contributed to the staff recruitment problem. In order to attract qualified teachers, Principal M. Lafrance had constructed a teachers' residence at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston in the late 1950s. Indian Affairs was reluctant to pay for it, since it had been built without prior approval.[109] In the opinion of Indian Affairs official R. F. Battle, Lafrance's action was "contrary to Departmental procedure and cannot be condoned—particularly since this is not the first time that buildings have been constructed at the Blood [Cardston] R.C. School without authority." At the same time, Battle had to admit that Indian Affairs was "not able to provide living accommodation for qualified teachers in sufficient time to keep pace with requirements."[110]

Accommodation continued to be a problem in Alberta. There was such a housing shortage at the Anglican school in Brocket in 1955 that some staff members were being housed in the infirmary. An Indian Affairs official, L. G. P. Waller, suggested that some of the staff move into the principal's residence and that the school simply recruit a principal with a smaller family. An Anglican official wrote, "This suggestion is ridiculous but typical of Waller. Agent [H. N.] Woodsworth suggests partitioning off part of the staff sitting room. The staff is not opposed to this as they feel a smaller room would be more comfortable."[111] In a separate letter on the issue of school staff accommodation, Woodsworth wrote that "most buildings in the Agency are in a state of disrepair and some of them are actually becoming unfit for human habitation. In recent years, there has been no increase of accommodation to take care of the increasing staff, especially teachers."[112]

In 1939 in Alberta, two teachers and their families were without living quarters at the Morley school, and the Roman Catholic school at Cluny could provide accommodation for only six of its eleven staff members.[113] In the summer of 1939, eight trailers were requisitioned for teachers beginning at the Hobbema, Gleichen, Cluny, Morley, and Caribou residential schools.[114] Staff member J. A. Cready wrote to R. F. Davey, the chief superintendent of education in 1940, saying that he had been teaching for the department for ten years, the last five at the Hobbema school. During his time at Hobbema, he had been living with his family "in a shack above a garage." The only other accommodations for staff were "two very small and inadequate trailers." He was "entirely fed up with having to live in shacks that had all the ear marks [sic] of gopher holes."[115]

The fact that many schools were remote from urban life was another problem. When asking for a new girls' supervisor and assistant girls' supervisor in 1936, Wabasca, Alberta, principal A. E. W. Goodwin asked that "young girls not be sent to this school as the place is too isolated."[116]

Problems were by no means limited to Alberta. In 1935, the entire staff at the Sioux Lookout school in Ontario was repeatedly "fed up with the condition of the building. The greatest stumbling block to their contentment seems to be the soot and dirt from the boilers constantly permeating the school."[117] In 1937, the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school did not have a residence for married teachers, but the principal was able to offer a job applicant the "engineer's cottage." While admitting that it was "small," the principal said that it was "modern in every way, with two bedrooms and bath, kitchen and a large living and dining room, hot and cold water and modern sanitation." Single teachers lived in the teacherage that was located above the classrooms.[118] In 1938, one of the boys' supervisors at the Norway House, Manitoba, school resigned because "he was not able to have a room entirely to himself."[119]

Fires destroyed several residential schools during this period, often causing staff members the loss of both their accommodation and their personal belongings. The staff members lost all their belongings, which were not insured, when the Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, burned down in 1943.[120] The homes of two employees of the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school were destroyed by fire in December 1948.[121] In January 1949, the building intended to serve as the principal's residence at the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school was destroyed by fire the day before the principal was scheduled to move into the residence. Losses were estimated at $6,000.[122] Similarly, the principal's house at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, was damaged by fire in the early 1950s.[123]

By the 1960s, there was a sliding scale of accommodation rates for staff who worked at the Prince Albert school. Dormitory supervisors, whose rooms were located next to students' sleeping quarters and who were on call twenty-four hours a day, lived rent-free. For other staff members, the fee for a single room was $30 a month. An additional private sitting room could cost $5 a month more, as would a private bathroom or a

private kitchens. Employees who were provided with full board had an additional $10 a month deducted from their salaries. Staff members who took occasional meals at the school were charged on a per-cupful basis.[14]

The food itself was often plain. Elizabeth Pearson recalled the food at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school as being "very, very basic. I guess it was healthy, but it was very, very white:... All I remember of the meals is white potatoes and white fish and white sauce and that hated white blancmange pudding."[15] Still, at many schools, staff food was better than what the students were eating. One teacher discovered that the staff ate better than the students only when she filled in for a student supervisor at mealtime. She said, "It was quite an eye-opener."[16]

Turnover

The poor pay, heavy workload, and poor living conditions led to ongoing staff turnover. Some staff members were always on the move. In December 1916, Birtle, Manitoba, principal N. Hanson reported that four female staff members would soon be leaving. One had been let go with no reason given; one had "not been working out satisfactorily," since she did "not know how to work"; one had given her notice and would not be missed, since she was a "world [sic] person to grumble" and did "not have the interest of the children at heart"; and the fourth was on a "man hunt" and was expected to stay only until the end of the school year.[17] Between 1907 and 1936, Eva Lilley worked in the Swan Lookout, Alert Bay, Upton, and Gordon's residential schools, usually as a cook or kitchen matron.[18] Between 1933 and 1968, Ilvie Klaverstra Rasmussen worked as a supervisor and matron at the Cardston, Swan Lookout, Gordon's, and Dunphies schools.[19] Between 1936 and 1946, Lillian Page worked as a cook at the Gordon's, Stuart Omeac, and Cameron schools.[20] Helen Smith taught at the Gleichen, Alberta, Anglican school in 1913 and 1917, at the Birtle, Manitoba, school in 1936, and at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school in 1918.[21] Lilian Isbell was the supervisor in Alert Bay in 1938, a supervisor at the Sault Ste. Marie school in 1953, a matron at the Cardston Anglican school from 1953 to 1956, and matron of the Dunphies school in 1966.[22] She retired from the school in 1967.[23]

A complaint lodged by a former staff member at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school in 1960 revealed the seriousness of the staff turnover problem. Phyllis Gitzel claimed to have been dismissed as the nurse at the school for "not being loyal to the school" because of a letter of complaint she wrote to Glen Gaterough, then the federal cabinet minister responsible for Indian Affairs. Gitzel wrote that fifty-seven staff members left the school during a period of a little more than two years. She said that the older boys came to the dispensary at night for Aspirins because they had hunger-induced headaches, because of a shortage of drinking fountains throughout

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Table 1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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After Scraps retired, he was replaced by A. E. Caldwell, who had recently retired as principal of the Alberni, British Columbia, school. By 1951, Caldwell wanted to go back into retirement, but was prevailed upon to continue in the job, since no replacement could be found.[156] Roy Inglis, a United Church minister, had been appointed principal of the Morley, Alberta, school in 1946, after having served in the navy and as a minister in Saskatchewan.[157] After a troubled decade in Morley (described earlier in this report), he was made principal of the Brandon school in 1955.[158] In March 1957, the regional supervisor of Indian agencies, Ralph Ragan, concluded that Inglis "has been given every opportunity to improve conditions there, but no improvement has been forthcoming." It was recommended that he be replaced at the beginning of the 1957–58 school year.[159] Two months after Ragan wrote his letter, Inglis was gone, replaced by an acting principal.[160]

In 1908, C. E. Hives's career in residential schools commenced when he began working as the farm instructor at the Red Deer, Alberta, school. By 1916, he was principal of the Anglican school at Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan.[161] He had taken over the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie in 1929. His predecessor at Shingwauk had been dismissed because he had refused to observe "every-day business principles."[162] Hives became principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, school in 1941, after the previous principal, A. R. Lett, had been forced to resign. At that time, Indian Affairs official R. A. Hoey thought Indian Affairs was "very fortunate in securing the services of an experienced man as Mr. Hives."[163]

Seventeen years later, Hives was still on the job, at age seventy-two. In 1958, Ellen Fairclough, the minister responsible for Indian Affairs, had received reports from Indian Affairs staff, provincial government staff, school staff, and children, which suggested that Hives was exhibiting "an inability to handle the staff of the school, an unwholesome attitude towards Indians, improper treatment of the children, and failure to co-operate with Provincial school authorities." She was worried that Hives wished to continue in his post for another year or two, until his son was ordained as an Anglican minister.[164] Despite his advanced age, Hives proposed staying on for another two years and replacing other retiring staff in the interim, "so that they would be accustomed to the work" by the time he left.[165] Instead, in October 1958, he was told that he would be dismissed at the end of the school year.[166]

Principals did not always feel supported by the missionary societies that sponsored their work. In 1950, E. C. Ross, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, wrote an exasperated letter to Frieda Matthews, the head of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society, defending the amount that had been paid to a school handyman. Ross felt that for every dollar the man had been paid, the school had received a dollar and a half in value. He went on to say that, at times, he felt as if Indian Affairs was

> much more interested than is the Women's Missionary Society in our welfare. We do not really want to believe that. We know that the Women's Missionary Society has neither the individuals nor the finance necessary to provide frequent visits to this school by Executive Members. The Department on the other hand is able to have specialists of various types visit us fairly frequently.

After noting that taking care of visiting dignitaries occupied a surprising amount of his time, Ross went on to say that there was a marked difference between the attitudes of Indian Affairs and those of church visitors to the school. The Indian Affairs visitors were usually experts in their field and seldom ventured "any suggestion based on the observations of only one visit to the school. Most Church people (here I refer not only to ladies) can suggest improvements as soon as they set foot inside the door."[169] When Ross informed Matthews that one of the night watchman's duties was ensuring that male and female students did not slip from one dormitory to another at night, she responded that she thought the current watchman was too old for the job and needed to be replaced.[170] Ross was not happy with this instruction, pointing out that the current night watchman was also the school gardener and was largely responsible for the school's "fine vegetable garden." The salary the school offered would "not tempt anyone who has not reached retirement age." Previous applicants for the job had "been men in their sixties, seventies or eighties."[171]

Into the 1950s, the Anglicans expected many of their principals to also carry out missionary work on local reserves. A report on the Anglican school at Cardston, Alberta, noted that the new principal, James DeWolf, was "greatly overworked in that he is spending more time at Reserve work than his two predecessors."[172] The following year, the principal of the Brocket, Alberta, school was also expected to serve as a missionary.[173] In 1955, Gleichen, Alberta, principal R. J. Crocker said he found it "difficult to do much missionary work on the reserve."[174]

Some found the work very stressful. Indian agent I. P. R. Ostrander warned the Indian Affairs office in July 1949 that he believed the principal of the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school, J. A. Card, was "entirely unfit physically and mentally to continue as principal." He said that he had to reintroduce himself to Card each time he visited the school. The principal also could not recall if the school had been inspected during the current school term. Ostrander said that "it is practically impossible to do business with Mr. Card." As a result of his condition, Card had "difficulty in controlling the children and dealing with the parents." Ostrander said he had refrained from raising the issue in the past because he thought the school was going to be closed. However, since it now appeared that it would remain open, Card needed to be replaced.[175] A few weeks later, a group of parents petitioned the school to have one of the teachers removed because the "children's report cards are very unsatisfactory, worst ever received, and she abuses the children too much."[176] Although the teacher, a Mrs. Linton, said that she left the administration of corporal punishment to the

principal, Ostrander reported there was a strap on display in her classroom. "If she does not use it for punishment at least she keeps it on display as a threat of punishment, which does not promote harmony in the classroom." Ostrander continued to assert that the principal was the underlying problem at the school and recommended against the removal of the teacher.[177] The Round Lake school continued in operation for another year, closing at the end of the 1949–50 school year.[178] Principal Card was still in office at the time of the school's closing.[179]

Albert Brown Christie had been in Canada for only a year when he was appointed to the position of principal of the Wabasca, Alberta, school.[180] Before that, he had been the "master" of a boys' school in England. According to Indian Affairs official G. H. Gooderham, Christie

> has had no experience in this sort of work nor with stock and farming prior to coming to Canada. It was very evident that he did not get along well with his staff, and he was very outspoken in his denunciation of practically everybody else who was in similar work, particularly those who are not of the Anglican faith.[181]

After less than a year on the job, he was forced to resign.[182]

In 1948, Robert Cathcart, the principal of the Anglican Whitefish Lake school in Alberta, was transferred to a more southerly school because the winters at Whitefish Lake aggravated his "asthma-bronchial condition." The Anglican Indian School Administration was uncertain whether it would be able to replace Cathcart: Superintendent H. G. Cook wrote, "Young men simply will not go North these days." In that same year, the principal of the Shingwauk school at Sault Ste. Marie resigned, "having over-reached the retiring age," and the principal of the Chapleau, Ontario, school resigned "upon the advice of his doctor."[183] The principal of the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school also resigned in that year, due to health reasons.[184] The following year, G. W. Fisher, the principal of the St. Alban's school in Prince Albert and the Lac La Ronge school (which had been relocated to Prince Albert after its destruction by fire), died. According to his physician, the cause of death was "heart strain due to over work." He had been principal of the Lac La Ronge school for twenty years.[185] In 1956, A. E. W. Godwin resigned as principal of the Wabasca school, due to ill health.[186]

Parents on the Blood Reserve threatened to withhold their children from the Anglican school in Cardston if Principal D. S. Pitts was not replaced in the summer of 1952. They said Pitts told students that "your father is no good, your brothers are no good, your uncles are no good and you are no good and so on." Their petition to Indian Affairs called for "a man who is familiar with the Indians, who likes to be with them and the work as a missionary and who we could co-operate with."[187] By the end of October, the Anglicans had arranged to move James DeWolf to the school in January 1953.[188] Unlike a number of other principals discussed here, DeWolf went on to have

a relatively successful career. He was, however, eventually replaced as principal of the La Tuque, Québec, school in 1968 because it was felt that school needed a French-speaking principal.[189]

In 1946, E. S. W. Cole was appointed principal of the Brocket, Alberta, school on the Peigan Reserve.[190] In 1948, he was transferred to the Gleichen, Alberta, school.[191] By 1951, church officials worried that he was "neglecting his own home and personal life for that of school." They feared he would become a "nervous wreck if he stays too long at school without a break."[192] The breakdown of his marriage appears to have precipitated his departure from the school in 1955.[193]

Yet, in 1955, when it looked as if Principal C. F. Hives of the Lytton, British Columbia, school might retire, Cole was considered for that post.[194] In recommending Cole, an Anglican Indian School Administration official wrote that Cole's family troubles had been "corrected," and described him as "the best school administrator we've had in a long while. Now and then he gets crazy ideas but by far and large he runs a good school."[195] Hives, however, did not retire.[196] In 1956, the Anglicans found a position for Cole as principal of the Carcross school.[197] Two years later, they concluded that Cole would not "co-operate with either Church or Government officials and would not observe I.S.A. [Indian School Administration] regulations pertaining to staff." As a result, he was forced to resign.[198]

According to Ellen Fairclough, the minister responsible for Indian Affairs, Cole's administration at Carcross was "marked by a series of difficulties, particularly with the staff of the Carcross School, which reached such proportions that the church authorities felt they would not be able to secure and retain competent staff for the school as long as Mr. Cole was principal."[199]

Cole's successors at both Gleichen and Carcross were also forced to resign. In September 1955, the Anglican Indian School Administration reported that there were no serious problems at the Gleichen school. However, it had been necessary to warn Principal R. J. Crocker that "he would have to get reports and accounts into Head Office on time or we'd replace him with someone who would."[200] By the end of the 1955–56 school year, Cook had asked for Crocker's resignation, informing Indian Affairs that he could not "condone such laxness of administration as Mr. Crocker has displayed."[201] Crocker had spent just a year and a half in the position.[202] In 1962, the Anglicans also removed Cole's successor at Carcross, G. Bullen, because he was responsible for "the lack of harmony which existed generally among the staff."[203]

Crocker's successor at the Gleichen school, H. B. Miller, also was forced to resign. In March 1959, seven teachers from the school petitioned Indian Affairs for Miller's removal. They said that under his administration, the school atmosphere was one of "insincerity, suspicion, and petty intrigue." They attributed the constant turnover in supervisors to the "program of calculated viciousness" to which the principal subjected them, "belittling them publicly and undermining their discipline."[204] The

previous year, the principal had made all the staff sign a loyalty oath.[205] Henry Cook, the superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, had visited the school in early 1958 and concluded that although Miller was "ardent about the school and the good of the children," he was likely to "obey the letter rather than the spirit of the law—he's a strict disciplinarian and might be vindictive." Cook concluded that this was a case of a principal who "would not give an inch," being up against "a trouble-maker type teacher" and "an inexperienced do gooder type teacher."[206] Miller was forced to resign in 1959.

However, to prevent the teaching staff from feeling that they had won a victory over the principal, the Anglican Church also recommended that the teacher believed to be Miller's chief critic be transferred to a different school.[207] Indian Affairs official Lyman Jampolsky objected to Cook's depiction of that teacher as "being responsible for most of the discord." Jampolsky said he had "no direct knowledge of unprofessional conduct" on the teacher's part, and neither was there any evidence that would "support a forced transfer."[208] Despite this, Indian Affairs agreed to the transfer request as well as the principal's departure.[209] The teacher was transferred to the Morley, Alberta, school.[210] However, by 1965, he had taken a position as a teacher-counsellor with the Blackfoot Indian Agency.[211]

At the same time, Superintendent Cook reported that, due to problems at the Fort George, Québec, school, Principal Stanley McTaggart "might have to be removed."[212] Upon visiting the school, Cook found "conditions and relationships at the school and in the Community such that I deemed it wise to ask Mr. McTaggart for his resignation."[213] The record does not provide specific reasons for the decision to request McTaggart's resignation. However, when Cook learned that the United Church was considering hiring McTaggart to work at another residential school, he informed Indian Affairs official R. F. Davey that he would "in no way give" McTaggart a recommendation for any such post.[214] Davey communicated Cook's concern to the United Church of Canada. As a result, McTaggart was not offered a position at a United Church school.[215]

Staff conflict

The staff handbook for the Presbyterian school at Kenora included a number of rules intended to reduce conflict among staff members. Employees were advised to "make a habit of being punctual" at meals and not to "sit around the table relaxing and talking after that." Complaints about food were to be taken to the matron, not to the cook.[216] It was also recommended that they make "a real effort to keep the atmosphere in the sitting room as light and pleasant as possible," even though "it is almost impossible to avoid altogether 'talking shop.'" Given the stresses that came with the job, "it does help if we all are (or at least appear to be) in a pleasant, light-hearted humour."[217]

Light-hearted good humour was not always easy to maintain. Conflicts among staff members and between staff and principals were a staple of life in many residential schools. There is evidence of regular conflicts between teachers and other residence staff. In 1952, G. R. Turner of the Anglican Indian School Administration said that a lot of trouble at the Moose Factory, Ontario, school could be eliminated "if the teachers lived outside of the building. They are so much better paid than the rest of the staff and somehow feel superior and are not above making public their opinion of the labours and work of the other staff members."[218] One of the purposes of the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school policy of requiring teachers not to play any role in the operation of the residence was to eliminate "all cause of friction between church paid staff and teachers." The Gordon's principal, Albert Southard, felt that in some schools, "there has been trouble due to interference between the two staffs."[219]

Administrators could also come into conflict with one another. A dispute broke out at the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school in the early 1950s between the vice-principal and the matron. Indian School Administration official H. G. Cook felt that Vice-Principal Stanley McTaggart "was determined to try and have things done his way and did not recognize at all the experience or responsibilities of a Matron." In the face of this, the matron became increasingly stubborn. Although each promised to co-operate in the future, Cook worried that the "animosity is too deep seated."[220] Despite the fact that Cook concluded that the vice-principal was a "pastmaster [sic] at 'covering up' and trying to play one person against another," as discussed previously in this chapter, he was appointed principal of another school.[221]

Teachers' private lives were closely watched, as the following examples from southern Alberta in 1954 make clear. In June, an Anglican Indian School Administration official wrote that, upon hearing that a female employee at the Gleichen school "was making a bit of a fool of herself about Gleichen," he "instructed Principal thoroughly to check on this and discharge her if his findings warrant same."[222] Later that year, a teacher at the same school was discharged for drunkenness.[223] At the Cardston school, an employee was judged to be "a beer drinker to excess at times and has to be roused out of bed periodically." Although he and a co-worker were engaged to be married, there were questions as to whether his first wife, who, he claimed, had been killed during the Second World War, was, in fact, alive. In light of all these questions, it was decided to simply dismiss him.[224] A report on the Anglican school at Brocket in the late 1950s noted that a female staff member was "becoming somewhat friendly with a native lad living near the school." The principal was advised "to try and guide her away from the association as diplomatically as possible."[225]

In November 1957, two teachers and a nurse resigned their positions at the Lytton, British Columbia, school. They all objected to statements that the principal, C. F. Hives, had made about the character of two teachers who had resigned the year before. In responding to the resignations, Hives noted that the complainants could not get away

from the fact "that there was discontent at the teacherage," and that it had been exacerbated because someone "gossiped and gave the remaining one a 'black name.'"[229]

In 1947, the principal of the Christie, British Columbia, school wrote to his superior, asking whether it was appropriate to allow one of the Oblates at the school "to drink at all or to give him some while it is under my control."[227] He was advised to make sure that the priest in question never had more than one drink on any occasion and not to "multiply the occasions."[228]

Clothing and hairstyles were also monitored. The Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school handbook from 1967 said, "Slacks will not normally be worn by lady staff members except when playing games or hiking with their children. Hair curlers and rollers will not be worn by staff members while on duty."[229] When Merle Nisly first arrived at the Poplar Hill school in northwestern Ontario in the 1970s as a volunteer, he was told to cut his hair and stop wearing bell-bottom pants.[230]

Staff members recalled some principals as being "dictatorial" and matrons as being "holy terrors." Problems could arise when the principal's wife was the matron, or, as happened in some schools, the principal's children took on positions of responsibility in the schools.[231] It was not uncommon for schools to employ married couples. James and Evelyn Ellcome both worked at the Cardston school. Dawson Beaver and his wife worked at the Carcross school. In both cases, the men did engineering and their wives worked in the school, in the first case, as a teacher, and in the second case, as a nurse.[232] Some principals were wary of hiring married couples. When it was suggested that the Edmonton school hire a husband and wife, Principal Oliver Strapp "indicated certain drawbacks to such employees."[233]

In 1958, Indian School Administration official H. G. Cook considered adopting a policy of not hiring "married teachers with a non-working wife," because he had concluded that a "troublemaker" at one school was being encouraged by a spouse who had formerly worked at the school and had "nothing to do all day so thinks up trouble."[234] Into the 1960s, there were schools where the principals' wives served as matrons, a situation that often led to staff divisions. At one school, Cook concluded that because the principal could not "curb his wife's activities," she was "running the school as Matron."[235] Conflict around his wife's role in the operation of the Dauphin, Manitoba, school led A. J. Scrase to resign as the principal in 1960.[236] In the end, Scrase continued in office, but his wife ceased to serve as matron.[237]

Others had more positive memories. Olive Saunders, who worked at Norway House, recalled, "The teachers at Norway House were the finest bunch of teachers you could ever wish for. Just lovely young people. We all blended together and we all blended with the community very easily." She had particularly positive memories of Principal Bernard Lee and his wife Isobel. She said that, at times, staff members would come down with cabin fever and take their frustrations out on Lee, but he "would never retaliate." She also felt that Isobel could "still the troubled waters."[238]

Isabel's son, Jack Lee, recalled how his mother worked for the Norway House school without pay.

> The budget was so low that my mother had to work for him for free. Five, six days, she worked for him for free because there wasn't the money in the budget to hire any help, any office help. And when my mother had to give birth to us, she had to be at work the next day after she gave birth to do the payroll. There was a time when my father said that they didn't have money to buy a chainsaw to cut wood to heat the school, so he made a fictitious employee and put him on the books and used the salary to buy the chainsaw. And the name of that fictitious employee was Charlie, and the name of that chainsaw, whom people wanted to refer to the chainsaw, they referred to it as Charlie.[138]

Mark DeWolf also felt that his mother had had a difficult time at the school, raising seven children in what was, to her, an isolated location.[140]

The wife of Principal W. J. J. Woods of the Brocket, Alberta, Anglican school taught the junior grades. By 1952, Mrs. Woods had been working in Indian Affairs schools for twenty-three years and was judged by a school inspector to be "an exceptionally good teacher, full of enthusiasm and most industrious. She is crippled with arthritis and can move only with extreme difficulty. In spite of this she works with great energy in the classroom and gets a very good response from the children." She was described as the "moving spirit of the school."[141]

Oliver Strapp came into conflict with a number of teachers during his lengthy career as principal of the Mount Elgin, Brandon, and Edmonton schools. In at least two cases, he found himself at odds with staff members who were critical of the way students were treated at the school. By 1948, Strapp had concluded that the Brandon school's senior teacher, John A. McNeill, was "never so happy as when engaged in an agitation or controversy." Since McNeill's wife was judged to be a good Kindergarten and Grade One teacher, Strapp hesitated to replace him until he could also replace his wife.[142] By February 1950, McNeill had resigned, alleging that the school was not properly heated, the children were not properly clothed or shod, there was little recreational activity, too much money was being devoted to the farm, and nothing was being done to stop "immoral practices among the boys."[143] McNeill had undermined his credibility with Indian Affairs by writing and publishing a booklet that he entitled "The Noble Redman." One Indian Affairs official, upon reading the section in the book entitled "Use of the Atomic Bomb," concluded that "this fellow is cracked."[144]

At the Edmonton school, Strapp also came into conflict with a teacher who was viewed as being too sympathetic to Aboriginal perspectives, although their initial differences centred on matters of workplace safety. One of the classrooms was directly over the garage in which the tractors were stored. The teacher, C. McIlwraith, worked out of that classroom. He reported in 1956 that two students had been overcome by fumes from the tractors. Strapp dismissed the complaint, arguing that if the fumes had

been that however in the classroom, the teacher operating in the room below would have been asphyxiated. *He did* acknowledge that the decision to locate the garage under a classroom and residence was not wise; he noted that this had been an Indian Affairs decision. In a letter to R. F. Davey, the superintendent of education, Strapp wrote that McDiarmid did not get along with other staff and had told him that "the children here are suffering under serious staff members and he intends to be their defender." Strapp said that McDiarmid's actions and attitudes were creating chaos in the school.[111]

At a meeting of the Edmonton Presbytery Committee dealing with the school, Strapp acknowledged that McDiarmid was a very good teacher and was getting very good results, but he was also "a member of the Friends of the Indians Organization and seems to be exerting an influence that is detrimental to the harmonious conduct of the school." Strapp said that if McDiarmid were not let go, he would quit.[112] McDiarmid's job at the school was eliminated when, as part of the government's integration policy, his students were transferred to local public schools. However, he continued working for Indian Affairs as a travelling sloyd teacher. This work sometimes took him to the Edmonton school. Strapp attempted to have McDiarmid banned from the school, but Indian Affairs told him he had to let the teacher into the building.[113]

Two teachers, Victoria Ketcheson and Patricia Watson, resigned from the Anglican school at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1952, claiming that the majority of their co-workers

> appear to be social misfits, unable to get jobs elsewhere. They are a quarrelsome, suspicious and gossipy lot. Their treatment of the children is worse than that of each other. Many openly consider [them] "dirty breeds" and sub-human [sic]. They apply one set of standards to "whites" and quite another to Indians. This is aptly expressed by the oft used phrase – "they're only Indian" – anything goes. Nothing is done to induce the staff to fulfill their duties as either Christians or working members of this institution. The children are maltreated, ruined in, made to hear the basest of senile sex instincts, exposed to the most brutish forms of behaviour and nothing is done to stop such proceedings.[114]

The rest of the staff responded with a letter that described the allegations as "grossly untrue and utterly unwarranted." In a separate letter to his superiors, Principal A. J. Stewart suggested that the two women were acting from religious motives, since they had recently been "speaking favorable [sic] of the Roman Catholic Church – not only in connection with schools, but in their teaching."[115]

In the spring of 1968, the staff members at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston were locked in conflict. According to the principal, F. O. Dennis, one teacher, Marjorie Crowe, was turning students against the other teachers, failing to control students in the classroom, and getting involved with reserve politics. In addition, she and several other teachers had joined together to force the principal to overturn a decision to expel a student. Crowe accused the principal of strapping students so harshly that

their actions were excellent and hindered, of exhibiting anti-Protestant bias towards her and other teachers, and of being too quick to expel students. The correspondence on the matter was increasingly hostile. By the end of the school year, Dennis resigned and stated that if Crewe and another teacher were "permitted to keep on teaching in this school they will 'blow it up' completely within a short time."[111]

Staff divisions surfaced at the Mosley school in the early 1960s. In 1963, the former boys' supervisor at the school, Dave Gilfedder, wrote Indian Affairs about the ongoing conflicts at the school. He said that when he started at the school in the fall of 1962, some of the staff had "brain washed" him into hating one of the teachers and the local United Church ministers. He later felt that these attitudes were without justification and were simply intended "to rid the school of willing and interested workers."[112] Over his years, school official Dave Campbell felt that Gilfedder was "a good news, prime player and a fine living chap but just can't organize or lead his troops. In fact, he chases the dove to his problems and loses himself in study or strumming his guitar."[113] An Indian Affairs report on the school noted that there had been "friction and tension" among staff at the school for years, and, currently, the staff and the reserve were divided into three camps: pro-principal, anti-principal, and neutral.[114]

A matron might also find herself isolated from the rest of the staff. After visiting the Prince Albert school in 1949, Superintendent G. R. Garner reported that staff resented the fact that the matron, E. Jackson, was younger than most of the people she supervised.[115] And, while matrons might fill in for principals, they were rarely promoted into the job on a full-time basis. Jackson, for example, served as acting principal of the Prince Albert school in 1948.[116] Garner reported that when a new principal was appointed, the matron found it difficult to adjust to the loss of authority.[117]

The matron of the Gitchein school resigned in 1918 after differences of opinion between herself and "most of the school staff." She had also circulated a petition calling for the principal's resignation; no one signed it.[118]

Tensions were particularly unsettled in remote communities. One worker at the Anglican school in Aklavik in the Northwest Territories was described as "not fitting in at all with the staff, pupils, or people in the community."[119] In another case at the same school, a girls' supervisor, whom the principal was "not overly happy" about keeping for another term, was still on the job the following year. She was judged by Superintendent Henry Cook to be "considerably better than a year ago but still improvement."[120]

In 1959, a special meeting was held in an effort to reduce divisions among file Hills staff at Qu'Appelle Hall in Lebret, Sask. Some workers were said to be creating "tension [and] and gloom" in the workplace by their snooty behaviour and refusal to speak to co-workers. There were also questions about who was in charge of the kitchen when the kitchen supervisor was absent. One of the female kitchen workers said that the main cause of tension in the kitchen was the fact that the male workers "resented

> my self-confidence feel so good, because now I was being asked, 'cause she knew I had been in the residential school, she knew, because I shared that with her.

One of the staff members at the residence had once supervised her at the Fort Chipewyan school.

> Before I started, I said, "You know, Sister," I said, "you and I are gonna be working together, and I want to tell you something before I start. I want to tell you how mean you were to me in the residential school. You hear me? Are you listening? How mean you were to me. But you know what? One thing I'll tell you right now, you are not going to do that to any of the children that we're going to supervise here, because I know what it's like, I've been there, and you, we, you and I are not gonna be mean to these children. Yes, we will discipline where they need to be disciplined, but we will do it in love. Sister, you represent God, but to me nothing, nothing, because that God doesn't exist, the God that they, that you guys told me about doesn't exist for me in my life anymore."
>
> So, I got along. She just came to me again through another nun. "What would you like us to do? How would you like, what kind of games do you want to play with the young, the young girls? What kind of games, so we can make them feel at home?" I said, "Sister, you know what? If we can, let's, let's hold them, let's hold them." I said, "You know I bet you they all want to be hugged, like I was in that residential school. 'Cause you know what? They're away from their parents."[109]

She later went to work at Lapointe Hall in Fort Simpson. There, she said, a priest attempted to sexually assault her. "I was reading, and I had my book up. I was sitting up, propped up in my bed with pillows, and I just, like, all of a sudden he came, the priest came into my room, and he lunged at me, and he tried to kiss me."[110] From that point on, she avoided the priest as much as possible.

As late as 1968, there were only twenty-three First Nations teachers working in residential schools across the country. Nineteen taught academic subjects and the others four taught home economics and industrial arts.[111] Stanley McKay, who was educated at the Birtle residential school, taught in the Norway House school in the 1960s. Although there was much that he enjoyed about the work, he left after two years.

> I couldn't work anymore for Indian Affairs in terms of education. I couldn't work in their system. I loved the classroom. I think I managed to develop a really, really good support with the students in the school and the classroom was a good place, but there was a lot of interference from Indian Affairs in the educational system and I sensed there were problems in the process that I didn't want to be a part of.

In his opinion, the education he was being forced to provide was not relevant to the lives of the children. There was, for example, a heavy emphasis on English and

no recognition of the role of Cree in the communities from which the children came. "They were doomed to fail under the system that existed. The majority of them would certainly and did."[201]

McKay went on to pursue a career in the ministry, eventually serving as the moderator of the United Church of Canada.[202]

Verna Kirkness, who was raised on the Fisher River First Nation in Manitoba, taught at both the Birtle and Norway House schools. Because she did not have status under the *Indian Act*, she had not been sent to residential school.[203] She did not like the atmosphere at the Birtle school, where, she felt, administrators sought to discourage students from spending additional time with her. In her memoir, she wrote that she "wondered if they were afraid the children would tell me things about their lives away from the classroom."[204] Her complaint about the treatment of the students to the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society led to an inspector's being sent to the school for a week. During that period, conditions improved, but she felt that it did not result in any long-term change.[205]

She had a much more positive experience at Norway House. She described the principal, Bernard Lee, and his wife as being gentle people. She was encouraged by an Indian Affairs official to take on the position of senior teacher at the school. She also conducted parent–teacher meetings in Cree. Students were not discouraged from speaking their Cree, and sex segregation was not as strictly enforced as it was at Birtle. Kirkness and many of her co-workers developed lifelong friendships as a result of their years as Norway House teachers.[206]

Another Aboriginal teacher from the 1960s was Clive Linklater, who taught at the Blue Quills, Alberta, school. Alberta Conservative Member of Parliament Frank Fane recommended that Linklater be transferred in 1961 because he was "a trouble-maker." Indian Affairs Minister Ellen Fairclough said she was reluctant to take such action without "complete justification," since Linklater was "an Indian and also a Roman Catholic."[207] Linklater, who had been educated at the Qu'Appelle school in Saskatchewan, kept his job in Alberta, and went on to play a role in the transfer of the Blue Quills school to Aboriginal control.[208] He later served as a vice-president of the National Indian Brotherhood (now the Assembly of First Nations).[209]

In the 1960s, schools also began to hire Aboriginal people to teach classes on language and cultural practices. George Clutesi taught traditional songs and dances at the Alberni school in 1965.[210] Redfern Louttit, a former residential school student, was teaching Cree there one day a week in 1967.[211] In 1970, the Hobbema school was hiring Aboriginal teacher aides, whose duties included assisting in "native language instruction and interpretation" and "native culture instruction."[212]

It was also in the 1960s that a number of Aboriginal people were promoted to the position of school principal. Ahab Spence, a former residential school student, was appointed principal of the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school in 1963.[213]

He was an enthusiastic supporter of the federal integration policy. Since, under the integration policy, students attended local public schools, classrooms at residential schools were no longer in use. Spence sought to have additional training courses offered to students in these discarded classrooms.[304] In a report on the work the school was doing, he wrote:

> There is a change in the Role that our school must play in Indian education. We still must teach the Indian pupil English thus preparing him for the town school. (This can be done without giving the Indian child the impression that HIS language is inferior!!). Our school could also be performing a different but more useful function in the Whole field of Indian Education in the Role of Feeding Residential schools or Hostels (regardless of denomination) located in larger Urban centres.

In what Spence saw as the third stage of integration, a student would be housed in "good Christian homes" and be "fully introduced into the White society in which he will be living perhaps during the rest of his life time."[305]

Under Spence's administration, the Sioux Lookout school had a staff of twenty-three, half of whom were Aboriginal.[306] Spence went on to work for Indian Affairs, serve as president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, and end his career teaching at Brandon University and Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, University of Regina. Much of his later career was devoted to work supporting the Cree language.[307]

Colin Wasacase became the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora in 1966.[308] In keeping with past practice, his wife was made school matron.[309] From the 1970s onwards, Aboriginal people were appointed to administrative positions at numerous residential schools, including those in Mission and Kamloops, British Columbia; Blue Quills, Alberta; Prince Albert, Duck Lake, and Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan; and Fort George, Québec.[310] Although the total number of schools declined rapidly from 1969 onwards, they became a significant source of Aboriginal employment, particularly in Saskatchewan, where six schools were operated by First Nations educational authorities. In 1994, of the 360 people working in the Saskatchewan schools, 220 were of Aboriginal ancestry—almost two-thirds of the total.[311]

The children of staff members

Sometimes, married staff members left a residential school once their children reached school age. The principal of the Anglican school in Aklavik and his wife announced in 1954 that they were leaving "due to the need of assuring better educational opportunities for their children."[312] In 1955, the principal of the Anglican school in Wabasca, A. E. W. Godwin, was becoming concerned about the future of his fourteen-year-old daughter. According to a church official, "To date her mother

has coached her via Correspondence Courses and she's done well. Family however feels she's missing the association of white girls her age."[313] Some parents, such as Cardston, Alberta, Anglican school principal J. DeWolf and Edmonton school principal J. F. Woodsworth, enrolled some of their children in the residential school. In other cases, staff sent their children to a local day school.[314] Mavis Gould's father was the farm instructor at the Edmonton school. She and her sister attended the school: at one point, she was taking Grade Five in the morning and Grade Six in the afternoon. She recalled that there were very few organized activities for girls. She said that "it was like the archaic stuff, you know. Girls didn't count or something."[315]

Jack Lee's father, Bernard, was the principal of the Norway House school in the 1960s. Lee said,

> I moved with my family to Norway House when I was about one or two years old, and started school in the Indian residential school system, basically, at the very start as a day student. But, you know, I had so many good friends there, I used to tell my father, I want to move in. So I did. And as a white boy, I lived with them for a short period of time, and saw and felt everything that everybody has been talking about, except I saw it as a white boy coming from a white European family.

Lee recalled the absence of adult supervision.

> It was a sea of children, very few adults. And you had to work out your own disagreements, your own problems with the other children if you got teased, or if you can't join games. There was no parent to go back to for comfort, there was no parent to go back to for guidance, you had to work things out on your own.[316]

Mark DeWolf was the son of the principal of the Anglican school in Cardston. As the only non-Aboriginal student in the class, he said, he felt isolated; for a variety of reasons, fellow students chose to steer clear of the principal's son. The DeWolf children did make friends with the children of Mrs. First Rider, an Aboriginal woman who was in charge of the school laundry. His sister Christine also attended the residential school. Both she and her brother were responsible for tasks at the schools where their father worked. Mark worked at the small tuck shop at the Cardston school, and Christine helped to prepare the dormitories at the LaTuque, Québec, school. Mark DeWolf was aware of his father's being persecuted for supporting social justice causes in the Maritimes, and also recalled his father's efforts to improve student health and to record examples of Aboriginal culture. "I'm very proud of my father ... he is still the man I most admire."[317]

Practising Christians

Each of the churches tried to hire solely members of their own faith to staff their denominational schools. The staff handbook for the Anglican Prince Albert school stated that each staff member had to be "a practising Christian." They were all expected to attend chapel regularly. Non-Anglicans were expected to be "sympathetic and co-operative as regards the teaching and practice of the Anglican Church."[318] Schools often found it necessary to hire teachers who belonged to different faiths: such individuals, however, were viewed with suspicion. At the Sioux Lookout school in December 1954, Anglican Indian School Administration official H. G. Cook felt that "on the whole all the teachers are good in the classroom but not being Anglicans they do little about the School." He also objected to the fact that they would sometimes go over the principal's head and take their concerns to the local Indian agent.[319]

One of the teachers Cook was talking about was George Takashima. He recalled that the principal told the staff that he did not want them to play any role in the lives of the children.

> Even before classes began, we were sat down by the principal of this school who was an Anglican clergyman of the old school, he had come from England, and he laid it on the line that our job was to teach and nothing more. Outside of school hours and on weekends, we were to have nothing to do with the children. I found that strange because we were prepared to do all kinds of activities outside of school hours but that's what we were told.[320]

In its 1958 report on schooling for Aboriginal children, the United Church noted the number of United Church members who were working at the residential schools it operated. The figures ranged from a low of six out of twenty-four staff members at the Edmonton school to twenty-six out of thirty-three at the Alberni school.[321] When a new girls' supervisor was hired at the Edmonton school in the fall of 1960, it was noted that she was "an Anglican woman," and did not know "anything about United Church group work," such as the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT, a church-based alternative to the Girl Guides).[322] In May 1961, Edmonton school principal A. E. Caldwell reported that he was happy with most of his staff, who were "nearly all United Church."[323]

Even after the federal government took over the residences in 1969, institutional life retained its religious nature. In most cases, the former church-appointed principals continued to serve as residence administrators, and student attendance at religious services was often obligatory. In 1972, Joseph Fardella, a child-care worker at the La Tuque, Québec, school, was fired because he refused to force students under his supervision to attend the Anglican chapel service on Sunday mornings. Instead, he woke them, informed them there was a church service, and let them make their own decision. Fardella, who was Roman Catholic himself, believed it would be wrong of him to force the students to attend. The residence administrator, Reverend

Jean-Maurice Bonnard, instructed him to take the students to the church services. When he refused to do so, he was fired for insubordination.[324] Indian Affairs supported the dismissal, taking the position that since the school respected the wishes of parents whenever they requested in writing that their child not be required to attend church, there was no issue of freedom of religion involved in the matter.[325] At an appeal hearing at the Public Service Staff Relations Board, it was revealed that a handbook at the La Tuque school instructed employees to behave "as representatives of the church ... as representatives of the white man's religion."[326] Ultimately, Fardella's dismissal was upheld.[327]

The staff and the students

Many staff shared the belief that, overall, the schools benefited the children who were enrolled in them. They were confident that the children were in residence either because their parents chose to send their children away to school or because there were problems at home that justified their removal.

James Fiori, an Oblate supervisor who worked at the Roman Catholic school near The Pas, Manitoba, stated that "people were having a great difficulty feeding their children." As a result, he said, "they came to the mission, you know, in desperation."[328] Fiori's belief was shared by Vincent LaPlante, an Oblate principal who worked at Cranbrook and Fraser Lake in British Columbia. "Some of these children came from very, very remote areas," explained LaPlante. "The families in those particular areas they didn't have running water, they didn't have electricity in some cases, I guess. They didn't have the opportunity to look after their children as well as they would have liked to."[329] Tom Cavanaugh, an Oblate who worked at the Christie, British Columbia, school in the 1960s and 1970s, said he believed parents wanted their children sent to the school.

> The routine that we had at the residence, the children arrive, I would say mostly by plane. And from what I understand, the parents were there and put them on the plane. I know for a fact, because I was there, that some of the children arrived by boat and by the parents' fish boats, they would drop them off to school. And the parents, from my interpretation, they wanted the children there, you know, for one reason or another they wanted the children there. Some certainly expressed about education, they knew that kids were going to get a good education at the school.[330]

For parents who spent part of their time out on the land, a residential school constituted the only way to ensure that a child received an education. An Anglican minister who worked in northwestern Québec recalled that

> the parents really appreciated the school being there because so many of them went away in the winter to trap furs and they, you know, knew this was a place where the kids were going to be hopefully well fed and well clothed and educated. I can't think of any parents who really resented having their kids go. They wanted them to go.[331]

In addition to food, clothing, and shelter, many former staff said, parents sought out the residential school for the opportunities the school could offer their children. "Who came to residential schools?" asked former teacher Olive Saunders: "The elite. The councillor's children, his family's children, the Chief's children.... They were wonderful kids. They were smart kids. So they were the elite ... because their parents knew that someday their kids would need to be educated."[332] James Fiori felt that residential schools constituted the only educational opportunity available to students: "I know some of the ones that I have talked to of the whole thing, if they don't have an education, they will not have a chance. And you know, like I know the north country, you know, like there simply wasn't anything available."[333]

A United Church minister who worked in Norway House, Manitoba, A. I. Avery, remembered that "principals always had a pile of requests that parents wanted their children in the residential school."[334] A former student from northern Québec, who later worked as a supervisor, said that her father, a local chief, had been a strong supporter of sending children to residential school: "He knew the way of life of hunting would cease and he said, 'You've got to learn, you've got to go to school so you can have the white man's tools because one day they are going to take over our land and you've got to have the tools to compete with them.'"[335]

She said she was not aware that children were being taken to the schools by force. She did recognize, however, that the residences were increasingly being used as child-welfare facilities.

> I think at one time they used residential schools as sort of a social thing too because there was no Children's Aid. So if there was a child that didn't have a home, there was very few orphan children, but they went to residential school.... There was no welfare ... but I can honestly say ... I don't know of anybody who was taken by force.[336]

Former residential school students who went on to work at the schools were well aware of how family hardship had forced children into the schools. "Like, when a mother dies, you know, they would put the children there because there was nobody at home to look after them," explained a First Nation woman who worked as a cook at the same Catholic school she had attended as a child.[337] Joe Aleck, who eventually became the administrator of the Mission, British Columbia, school, recalled that "one sad thing that was happening ... was children that were abused and that was the era of the alcohol syndrome ... lot of the children were abused at home and they were taken

away or sent away to the residential school.... Many at the school were neglected by their parents."[110]

Another former student, who later joined the school's support staff, explained that she was sent to the residential school when her mother died and her father was unable to manage. Although she had relatives living nearby, she preferred to stay in residence because it kept her safe from the physical, sexual, and substance abuse that she endured in her relatives' home.[111]

Vincent LaPlante worked at residential schools in British Columbia. He said that many of the students who came to the schools

> came from dysfunctional families. There was, on the admission form, there would be the reason why this child is being sent to the Indian residential school. It was signed by the Indian agent and by the parent, legal parent or guardian. In many cases it was the guardian because the family itself was not capable of looking after the child. So the child had difficulties before arriving at the school. Many of the children came from these dysfunctional families and were nevertheless able to do pretty well.[112]

John Fitzgerald said that because so many of the children at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, residential school were orphans, he felt he was their surrogate parent.[113]

Terrance McNamara said that for some of the students he worked with at Kuper Island, British Columbia, the school was a refuge from a difficult home life.

> So that's something that's really standing out in my mind, because of the fact that they were happy at the school and they didn't want to leave the school because of their own situations at home. And I think that needs to be said, that some of the situations at home were very difficult for them and they didn't want to go home, they wanted to stay in the residential school.[114]

But, while they believed the students were in school largely because their parents wanted them to be there or because their family life had fallen apart, school staff members recognized how emotionally wrenching it was for young children to be separated from their community. Tom Cavanaugh said:

> I used to feel sorry for the young kids coming in, the Grade Ones and Twos. They're such little gallies, you know. And they would come in and they would be crying, some of them wouldn't, but some of them would be crying, and their mom or dad were there and they would be trying to console them, and then they would have to leave, you know, because they had to go back home themselves. So it was pretty sad for them, the little ones, you know, to leave. And I thought, how do you possibly make a kid or make a child feel at home? How do you comfort them? Because I'd feel sick. If I look back at my own family and if I had to leave home, you know, at five years of age, be away from my mom and dad for three, four months at a time, and possibly the whole school year without seeing

> there, that would devastate me, that in itself, you know. And I thought, this is really tough.[xxi]

Lynn Bishop, who later went on to be the manager of the Winnipeg International Airport, was a young commercial pilot working in Manitoba and northwestern Ontario in the 1970s.[xxii] In that job, he unexpectedly discovered how stressful the journey to residential school could be for the children. It was an experience he never forgot.

> On a late day in August, I was asked to go to a lake I had never been to before. I was told that at a pre-arranged point on the shoreline, there would be two small children to bring back to the base, where they would attend the nearby residential school. I was told too that one or both parents would be there to see the children off. When I got there, I could look down and see two little people and two not so little people, but what was most odd was the fact that there was no dwelling of any kind, no structure, no tent. And unless I missed it, there was no boat. I landed the aircraft. There was no dock. I had to nudge it up under the shoreline close to where they were standing.
>
> And when I got out, I could sense immediately that there was a high sense of discomfort, and stress within this group. The father was very weather-faced and grim. The little boy, who I would guess to be eight years old, was expressionless, but you could tell worse. The mother, it was apparent, had been crying, and was in a very high state of anxiety. The little girl, who I would guess to be six years old, no more than six, was trembling and sobbing and clutching her mother's garment with a death grip. I suspected, and the father confirmed, that the little girl was being separated from her mother for the very first time in her life. As we were about to leave, I mistakenly said to the father, "Well, you will see them at Christmas." And he said, "No, here of next year."
>
> We took off and I overall thinking that what I would do is turn around and do a low pass, bank the aircraft slightly so the children could look down and wave to their parents. And that was a mistake, because all it did was heighten the sense of separation and the remoteness and we now had two very upset little ... I would think in clinical terms you could call traumatized at that point. They both wailed and sobbed all the way back to Kenora. It was a long flight. But the indignity of that journey to be inflicted upon the children was not quite over. When we got to Kenora, parked on the dock was a taxi. I can overall clearly carrying the two small suitcases, hand-painted like a cardboard suitcase, little suitcases to the case. The children got in the back seat, went up the road, up the hill rather, turned, and out of sight. No chaperones, no welcomers, no adult, no words of welcomes. And I remember thinking, how cold and uncaring can this get? Being with the children that day had a very disturbing effect on me, but in due course the necessary recorded. And in more recent years, I've only thought of it once or twice, and the children, in particular, until I began to read about the findings and the residential school situation and all that went with it. And the more I read,

> [illegible] more significant than day becomes, and more bothersome you become the thought of whatever happened to those children.[43]

A number of staff members spoke of how lonely the students were, particularly at the start of the school year. Dorothy McKay, who worked at the Norway House school in the early 1960s, recalled:

> I think about the first week, you'd hear the children crying themselves to sleep, but the other side of that is I can remember we would go to the plane with them when it was time at the end of June for them to go home [they were] crying and I think that kind of says part of what we did to them. They did not want to go home. They didn't know what they were going to and will they know that they were going to a difficult situation because they didn't know it, they no longer knew about their homes, they'd been away for ten months, most of them, and there would be tears when they had to get on the plane to go home and I thought, I remember thinking how terrible that was.[44]

Elizabeth Pearson could remember hearing children crying themselves to sleep at the beginning of the school year at the West End. Bridget Colombina, school "Missing their mum and dad, and of course their brothers, their sisters were separated on opposite sides of the building. So they couldn't communicate except at lunchtime or playtime … and when they were outside playing".[45] One former staff person spoke of how every autumn, the children would arrive "in a big open truck.… How often did I seen [sic] them, especially [sic] the little six year olds struggling to jump from the back of the truck, blinded by tears of loneliness and confusion."[46]

Mary Hamilton worked as a teacher at the Anglican school in Oxford in the Northwest Territories. During her time at the school, she thought the children were well treated.

> The only thing that bothered me was that they were away from their parents. I thought that was so sad, you know, because they were away from their parents. Now sometimes the parents would come into the community and visit them, but for the most part they didn't see their parents until the next summer. And that was sad.[47]

Marion Adams, who taught at the Norway House school, recalled the impact that parents from home had on the children. She remembered that if a grandmother were "new to caution to someone and that parent arrived, it had so much power. There was a problem of not making the others homesick by showing too much.… It was wonderful but it was difficult for the other children who didn't get a parent."[48]

Students had good memories of specific staff members, particularly if those staff members had supported them in a difficult time. Richard Cardinal served as president of the Northwest Territories, the first First Nations person in Canada to be elected to lead a public government. As a student, he had attended Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

finding "enhancement of their presence." She said the principal "talked about how they were having given this wonderful opportunity to get an education and to live better lives from their presence."[211] George Tolhurst recalled that at the Stone Lookout, Ontario, school, the principal said that "we were here as Christians the example and that took our place."[212]

When she taught at the Birch, Manitoba, school, beginning in 1959, Verna Kirkness became aware of the degree to which Aboriginal people were absent from the school communities. When she pointed this out to her students, an animated discussion ensued, leading her to assign "Canada, 1959, Without Whitemen," as an essay topic.

> Well, the responses to this assignment was overwhelming! They were pages and pages about what they thought it would be like to live in Canada without the influences of people from other lands. I wish I had kept some of those essays, as they revealed so much about the students' feelings, which were probably enhanced by their experiences in an institution.[213]

Recreation: "They were cops"

Residential schools provided only limited recreational programming. Recreational facilities were often makeshift and equipment was in short supply. Mary Peterson could see no call much in the way of recreational equipment at the school at Alert Bay, British Columbia. The programming that existed depended largely on the initiative of individual staff members. At the Shingwauk school in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, staff members took on responsibility for Scouts, Cubs, Guides, Brownies, and a variety of church organizations such as the Little Helpers and the Church Boys' League.[214] At the Carcross, Yukon, school in 1956, H. W. Rackle was not only "a first rate teacher," but he also organized a range of sports activities, coaching skating, giving twenty minutes of physical training a day, and organizing a radio squad.[215] One staff member in British Columbia successfully coached sports teams, although he was not much of an athlete: "I wasn't able to skate, I never played hockey, but I was able to train the students and they won, they were cops."[216] At a Catholic school in the Northwest Territories, the principal was so discouraged by the lack of recreational activities for the children that he closed down the school chapel and turned it into a gymnasium. "We could not move somewhere else. We turned it into a gymnasium so we could play basketball or volleyball or whatever."[217]

Eleanor Nicholson said the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school had an active recreation program in the 1960s.

> And on the west coast of Vancouver Island there were a lot of canoe races in those years and the students participated in the canoe races. We were very involved

> in athletics. There was a great emphasis on soccer, and the Native people during those years were very involved with soccer, including the elementary grades. And during that period of time we would take the weekends and either go over and participate in the soccer tournaments. But in that period of time from May until June, we had a life and drum band, and it was a really wonderful occasion for the school to go out and participate in the non-Native parades from Victoria up to Nanaimo, and even in those years we would go over to the mainland as well."[70]

According to Tom Cavanaugh, there was at least one night devoted to recreation at the Christie, British Columbia, school: "It was mostly volleyball. Get the older kids and the staff together and they'd choose teams and have different teams, kids and adults mixed, and they would play volleyball, you know, have little tournaments going on and that sort of stuff." The administration also brought in movies once a week. "So that usually happened every Friday night. Sometimes it would be repeated if it was a show that the kids really enjoyed, we might even have it Saturday night or Sunday evening for them before they go to bed."[71]

John Fitzgerald recalled that when he was the principal of the school at Sechelt, British Columbia, he arranged for the school band to visit Disneyland. "We had a great time. They raised the money, but we had all kinds of deals to raise the money. They were very good. And we got pictures from Disneyland that I was allowed to duplicate, and every child got a picture that was in the band."[72]

Discipline

As noted in earlier chapters, Indian Affairs was slow to develop a system-wide discipline policy, and ineffective in enforcing such a policy. The policy that Indian Affairs was attempting to impose was intended to restrict who could administer corporal punishment, and to limit that punishment to strokes on the hand with a regulation strap.[73] A staff handbook for the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan stated: "Only the Principal may administer corporal punishment. Any staff member who strikes a child is liable to dismissal and possible prosecution. Difficult disciplinary problems must always be referred to the Principal."[74]

In reality, individual principals set the tone for their school. An Anglican Indian School Administration report from 1955 refers to a "most painful session" with Brocket, Alberta, school principal W. J. J. Woods,

> on the subject of his method of disciplining the children — girls particularly. He contended that strapping on the hand was no good and quoted the Bible to substantiate his method of punishment. I couldn't follow his arguments at all. He admitted acting contrary to our [Indian Affairs Branch] regulations and my

> instructions, given some three years ago, but claimed he was more experienced than either the IAB or ISA [Indian School Administration] in handling the pupils. Miss Bray was brought along as a witness apparently and stated that Mr. Woods and she were present the last time Mr. Woods punished the girls for running away. After a lot of talking during which he claimed to have received no help from ISA, IAB or the Bishop in running the school or the Mission I came to the conclusion that he has let molehill-size problems develop into mountainous situations. He has no use for Mr. Walley, Mr. Battle or the new Agent Mr. Woodsworth.[863]

Woods resigned his position with the school at the end of the 1954–55 school year.[864]

In a letter to a prospective teacher in 1957, the Gordon's principal, Albert Southard, explained that the school was

> operated under a very strict discipline and I would expect this to be maintained. We do not follow the policy of "free expression" here, and Indian children do as they are told. The school stands on the Gordons Indian reserve and for that reason all contacts with the reserve are kept to an absolute minimum and are discouraged.[865]

Within two months of sending this letter, Southard was under investigation for allegations of excessive discipline at the school; by September, he had been replaced as principal and had returned to England.[866] Woods had been a principal at Anglican schools since 1948, while Southard's career as principal dated back to only 1955.[867] In both cases, it is apparent that their approach to discipline was not only strict, but also excessive, going beyond the standards that the church and government sanctioned.

Former staff members spoke of events that clearly violated the policies that Indian Affairs was seeking to impose. Delores Pflanz spoke of seeing one of the nuns at the Kuper Island school beating five or six students at one time in what Pflanz described as "a total rage." She also saw students having their mouths washed out with soap for speaking an Aboriginal language. She said that she went to the residence administrator about one of her concerns about Glenn Doughty, a staff member who was later convicted of abusing students. She said that instead of responding to her concerns, the administrator flew into a rage and fired her. In the end, she kept her job, but nothing was done regarding her complaint.[868]

Some former staff members told this Commission that they never hit a student, but others spoke with regret about having struck a student in a fit of temper. One former staff member spoke of losing her control and slapping students.[869] Some believed that the use of corporal punishment was justified and not excessive. Tom Cavanaugh said of the discipline at the Christie, British Columbia, school:

> I never saw anything that would cause me to think that discipline was overused. And we used all types of discipline. It was never with a stick or anything. We used to use the straps. That was an acceptable type of discipline at that time. But

> I would say even the strap, I know like with myself, I'd use the strap a few times. The first time I used the strap I almost cried myself because I didn't want to hurt anybody.[390]

According to Cavanaugh:

> I saw perhaps one time that it might have been—there might have been reason to think that it was overused, but it was dealt with after, you know. And the person who administered the strap was dealt with after it was done. And that's the only time that I ever saw it ever misused. I would say it was on the verge of being misused.[391]

Some staff members came to question and change their approach to corporal punishment. Donald Hepburn said that he gave up using it after a boy he was going to discipline broke into tears before he administered the strap: "Why would you want to reduce this big fourteen-year-old—good kid—to tears?"[392] Another former staff member spoke of how she had confronted a supervisor she saw boxing a boy on the ears and telling him never to do that again.[393]

Others clearly felt that children needed to be ruled with an 'iron hand.' A nun who worked at a Roman Catholic school said that on one occasion, she challenged another nun who was impatient with students, telling her that "'they don't learn when you scream and say smarten up or go and sit down if you can't.... That doesn't help if they are yelled at.' She said, 'That's how I was raised.' I said, 'Did you appreciate it?' 'Well,' she said, 'that's how it was.'"[394]

Indian Affairs had sought to ban humiliating punishments in 1953.[395] Despite this, Marianne Kingma, who was a girls' supervisor at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, in the 1960s, recalled that punishments were often humiliating. In one case, a student was required to clean part of a floor with a toothbrush, and in another case, a girl was made to stand in the bathroom for an hour.[396] Eleanor Jackson recalled thinking that the humiliating manner in which students who had wet their beds were treated was "so awful." At the same time, she said, none of the staff knew how to treat the problem.[397] Another former staff person commented approvingly that fear and humiliation were effective disciplinary tools.[398]

Several former staff said that the withdrawal of privileges was more common than corporal punishment. Tom Cavanagh said,

> A lot of the discipline was, you know, depriving the children, if necessary. Depriving the children from such things as perhaps treats, you know, if the kids are going to get candy for the show, maybe you are not going to get any candy, you have been bad this way or that way; or you might say, okay, you are not going to go to the show this week if you don't know how to behave; or you have to go to bed early; or you can't go to the dance, if there was a dance going on; or you can't

play these games. And the kids accepted that. It is amazing, like some of those kids are really marvellous, marvellous young beings, you know.[399]

Abuse

Several former staff members who made statements to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada said that they had never considered the possibility that students might have been sexually abused. Others spoke of how shocked they were when, years after the fact, people were charged with abusing students in communities and schools where they had worked.[400] Tom Cavanaugh said he could recall no allegations of sexual abuse while he was working as an Oblate at the Christie school in the 1960s.[401] Others said that they became aware that something untoward—but undescribed—had happened only when a staff member was quickly and mysteriously dismissed: sometimes, there one day and gone the next.[402]

In some cases, staff members intervened on behalf of students who were being sexually exploited. At one school, a staff member confronted the principal after students told her that the principal had walked into the girls' washroom when they were undressing. The staff member told the principal that he should never walk into the washroom again.[403] One former staff member, Edward Lynch, said he once saw a supervisor, Harold McIntee, who was later convicted of sexually abusing students, in a dormitory at night. "I asked him never, ever to come back to the dorm. And basically he did that. He stayed away from the dorm."[404]

In 1995, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) radio program *Ideas* broadcast an hour-long roundtable conversation among several members of the Oblate order who had worked at residential schools. The latter part of the program dealt with the issue of abuse. Thomas Lascelles, a member of the Oblate order, who wrote a history of Catholic residential schools in British Columbia, claimed, "The first instances [of allegations of abuse] only emerged in the last couple of years. I've talked to Oblates who worked in thirty, forty years and they say they never heard of it."

Lascelles was immediately contradicted by Lorne (Larry) Mackey, who had been the principal of the Christie, British Columbia, school. Mackey said that when he took over the school, "I found an incident there with one of the lay staff. I didn't know the extent of the abuse—because we didn't even know the word at that time. But I found this incident. Well, the next day I fired him out of there." Mackey went on to say that he got into trouble with Indian Affairs for failing to "follow the rules and regulations" and with some parents in the community, since the individual involved had been lavishing gifts on some of the students. Mackey said the event took place in either 1963 or 1964; according to church records, he was appointed principal of the Christie school in June 1964.[405]

Mackey did not give the name of the employee who was dismissed in this manner. However, Martin Saxey had been employed at the Christie school as baker and odd-jobs man in the late 1950s. He sexually abused at least one student at the school from 1957 until 1962.[406] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has found no evidence that Saxey's employment at the school continued past September 1964—he appears to have left the school's employ shortly after Mackey's appointment as principal.[407]

When the individual who had been abused by Saxey sued the Oblate order for damages, the Oblates took the position that "the constant supervision of the children, coupled with their daily schedules, left no opportunity for Saxey to have sexually assaulted" the student. Mackey was one of the staff members who provided evidence supporting the Oblate position when the case went to court in 2001.[408]

In the same CBC program cited above, Bert Dunlop, who had been principal of the Mission, British Columbia, school from 1963 to 1968, said, "I was at Mission and before God I can say I had no idea this was going on. Maybe I was stupid; no idea it was going on. One case came to my attention in here so I treated it. One of the staff said, 'I think one of the supervisors might be fooling around with some of the kids.'"

Dunlop said he confronted the staff member and told him to leave the school that evening. "We had no other recourse! There was no one to report him to, like you have now. There were no legal regulations. That's the way I handled it; the only way I could."[409]

There were, of course, police officials, government officials, and church officials to whom the matter could and should have been reported. There were also "legal regulations." The sexual abuse of children was, and had been for a considerable period of time, illegal in Canada. Just two years earlier, an employee at an Oblate-administered residence in the Northwest Territories had been convicted of violating these laws by abusing children living at a residence there.[410] In this period, there also existed a national Oblate organization: the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission.[411] The organization published a regular bulletin and organized workshops that brought together principals of Oblate-administered schools. In short, the church had mechanisms to communicate news of such convictions to school staff, and to advise them of the proper steps to take.[412] It would appear, however, that calling the legal authorities was not seen as an appropriate step to take in either case. Instead, perpetrators were dismissed, allowing them to avoid prosecution. The goal, it would appear, was not to protect children, since those who were dismissed were free to abuse other children in different settings. Instead, the goal was to avoid bringing the church's name into disrepute.

Decisions of this nature had consequences for children in residential schools and elsewhere. Keavin Amyot worked as a dormitory supervisor at the Mission school in the 1960s, and resigned in 1969.[413] Three years later, he was convicted of indecent

assault on a child in Edmonton.[414] In April 1987, he pleaded guilty to sexually assaulting four Inuit boys in Sanikiluaq, Northwest Territories.[415] In the 1990s, former students of the Mission school informed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Residential School Task Force that they had been abused by Amyot at that school in the 1960s. Amyot died in 2003 before charges against him with regard to those allegations could be finalized.[416] Since Amyot left the Mission school a year after Dunlop did, it appears that Amyot was not the individual Dunlop fired. However, the approach that Mackey and Dunlop used when faced with evidence of abuse—firing the suspect and not reporting the matter to the police—suggests that school officials may well have discovered that Amyot had been abusing students at the Mission school, and then dismissed him rather than reporting the case to the police.

In some cases, the uncovering of an incident of abuse at a school led to a complete change in staff. In 1947, it was discovered that a boy at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school had been infected with venereal disease as a result of being sexually abused by the boys' supervisor at the school. The supervisor was a former student who had been abused in the past by the school engineer. (Both the supervisor and the engineer were tried and convicted for these assaults.) Indian Affairs official R. S. Davis concluded that, in his opinion, "this thing has been going on in the school for years." He wrote, "It might have been found out by one of the principals and hushed up, until today it is quite common." Davis thought that the current principal, Fred Mayo, was "very good, but he is an old man, and besides being principal he has to be plumber and everything else." Overall, he recommended that "a qualified staff be put in, as at the present time they are only getting what they are paying for, and they are dear at that price."[417] Davis's recommendations were acted upon: the principal was replaced and staff members from the Lac La Ronge school, which had been destroyed by fire, were transferred to the Gordon's school.[418]

A new set of scandals involving male and female students and staff members in 1955 led to another staff turnover at Gordon's. Anglican Indian School Administration official G. R. Turner wrote that the school was held in such disrepute that "the school truck is often greeted in the town of Punnichy with the cry 'there is the truck from the ——' (a common expression for house of ill fame) and several parents from outlying reserves have written that they are not going to let their girls come back here because they are afraid they will become pregnant." He emphasized that "only first-class competent staff members be provided in order to restore the prestige and reputation of this school, and the confidence of the Indian parents."[419]

Vincent LaPlante worked at two Oblate-run residential schools in the 1960s and 1970s. He said that he believed a number of allegations of abuse by members of the Oblate order were false, and suggested that the prospect of compensation had led people to make false accusations.[420] John Tritschler, who worked as an Oblate at the Mission school, said that many former staff felt that the focus on the sexual abuse of

students also meant that abusers and non-abusers had been "tarnished with the same tar-brush." For him, meaningful reconciliation would involve honouring the Roman Catholic Church for "the good that it tried to do, given the historical perspective that it had at the time and the lack of foresight that it had at the time."[423]

Conclusion

Former staff and the children of former staff members have expressed the view that much of the discussion of the history of residential schools has overlooked both the positive intent with which staff members had approached their work and the many positive accomplishments of the school system. They certainly believed the system was underfunded, but they also believed that they and their parents devoted much of their lives to educating and caring for Aboriginal children.

There were some residential school employees who specifically sought out work in the schools in order to take advantage of young people. There were also people who used their authority and the lack of outside scrutiny to impose harsh and abusive discipline on students. The men and women who answered a missionary call were also clearly intent on converting Aboriginal children and their parents to their particular Christian faith, and, in this sense, they worked to undermine existing Aboriginal cultural and spiritual beliefs.

Most of the staff members did not make a career in residential schools, spending, at most, a year or two on the job. Others stayed on the job for many years in conditions that were often very different from those they grew up with, working for low pay, and living in cramped and confined quarters with, at times, less than congenial colleagues. They spent their time teaching, cooking, cleaning, farming, and supervising children. On their own, these can be seen as positive, not negative, activities. The school staff members, for the most part, were not responsible for the policies that separated children from their parents and lodged them in inadequate and underfunded facilities. Many staff members spent much of their time and energy attempting to humanize a harsh and often destructive system. Along with the children's own resilience, these individuals share credit for any of the positive results of the schools.

The responsibility for the limits of that system lies with the Canadian state, the churches, and the Canadian people who benefited from the colonization of Aboriginal people and their lands.

CHAPTER 45

Getting to the Settlement Agreement

The signing of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) in 2006 was a major turning point in the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. The Settlement Agreement compensated residential school Survivors for individual acts of abuse, as well as for the collective impacts of the schools on Aboriginal people and communities.[1] The Settlement Agreement created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, and provided funding for commemoration initiatives and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

The Settlement Agreement and the series of apologies by institutions that participated in the residential school system were the result of a complex process. Aboriginal people and their organizations worked for decades to ensure that the legacy of residential schools became a public issue. Aboriginal political organizations played a key role in advocating for justice for residential school Survivors as well as ensuring that Aboriginal issues were kept on the national political agenda. Through published memoirs and anthologies, and the tireless advocacy of Survivors, the Canadian public became increasingly aware of the harms caused by the residential school system and the need for redress for Survivors. Over time, the churches that had operated the residential schools experienced a significant evolution in their attitudes towards Aboriginal rights. Churches that had previously boasted of their missions to Christianize and 'civilize' Aboriginal children came to apologize for their role in the operation of residential schools in Canada.

The disclosure of pervasive abuse and cruelty in the residential school system resulted in some police investigations and convictions of a number of the individuals who had abused students. Building on these criminal court decisions, Survivors launched civil claims seeking compensation for the abuse they experienced in residential schools. Thousands of civil lawsuits were filed.

The hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples served as forums in which Survivors spoke of their residential school experiences. The Royal Commission's 1996 report further focused public attention on the history and legacy of the residential school system.

Changes in Canadian law in the 1960s allowed survivors to launch class-action lawsuits in relation to their residential school experiences. At the same time, the post-secondary programs that the federal government had established as an alternative to the courts came under criticism from Aboriginal organizations, the Canadian legal establishment, and, eventually, a parliamentary committee. As a result of these growing pressures, in 2005, the federal government chose to enter into a process intended to negotiate a settlement to the growing number of court cases. This led to the negotiations of the terms in 2006, and its approval by the courts in the following year. In June 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, on behalf of Canada, apologized to Aboriginal peoples for Canada's role in the residential schools before members of Parliament, residential school survivors, Elders, and Aboriginal political leaders.[1] That same month, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which had a mandate to tell Canadians about the history of residential schools and the impact these schools had on Aboriginal people, was formally established.[2]

The growth of national Aboriginal political organizations

Efforts to establish a nationwide Aboriginal organization date at least as far back as E. O. Loft's League of Indians of Canada in 1919.[3] Although the league was short-lived, a variety of provincial and regional organizations were established, and efforts were made to create national organizations in the 1940s.[4] In 1961, Canadian Aboriginal leaders established the National Indian Council (nic), the first such national organization to achieve a stable membership and funding base.[5] In 1968, as a result of internal divisions, the nic split into two separate groups: the National Indian Brotherhood (nib) represented the interests of status and Treaty Indians, and the Canadian Métis Society (cms) represented Métis and non-status Indians. The cms was later reorganized as the Native Council of Canada (ncc).[6] In 1982, the nib became the Assembly of First Nations (afn), an organization intended to serve as a Canada-wide assembly of chiefs.[7] The following year saw the creation of the Métis National Council.[8] The ncc was reorganized as the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples in 1983.[9]

The nib's first political challenge was the federal government's 1969 White Paper, with its call for the termination of the Treaties, the repeal of the Indian Act, and an accelerated program of integration. The nib, working with various provincial organizations, forced the federal government to abandon this policy. In subsequent years, the nib played an increasingly prominent role in Canadian political life. By the early 1970s, for example, the federal government had adopted—at least in principle—the nib's policy of "Indian Control of Indian Education."[10]

In 1971, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (itc) was formed to create a united voice on issues affecting Inuit people.[11] Many of its early leaders had attended residential

[illegible] Aboriginal rights

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report emphasized that "the healing must begin ... the atrocities suffered by many in the residential school system cannot be addressed."[30]

In 1992, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC), a body that coordinated political action among the fourteen Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island, undertook a major study of the impact of the residential schools on its members. In 1995, the NTC published *Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience*, a report that contained excerpts from 150 interviews with former students, as well as with several former teachers. The anthology featured testimonies of the residential school experience, such as the impact of separation from family and home, the loss of native language and culture, and the abuse that was suffered. The anthology also shared Survivors' healing experiences as well as their attitudes towards litigation, financial compensation, and personal and institutional apologies.

During this period, groups of Survivors were coming together to support each other and create associations to provide spiritual healing, raise awareness of the abuse suffered by former students, and advocate for a just resolution to the legacy of the residential schools. In 1991, former students of the Shingwauk school in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, organized a reunion, which was held at the former school site. By then, the site was part of Algoma University.[31] The reunion inspired Michael Cachagee and other Survivors to found the Children of Shingwauk Alumni Associations. The association's mission was to provide for the well-being of alumni, their families, and their communities through mutual encouragement and support.[32] In 1987, Nora Bernard, a former student of the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school, began interviewing fellow Survivors in the kitchen of her home in Truro, Nova Scotia. Her work led to the creation of the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School Survivors Association.[33] The Mi'kmaq Indian Residential School Survivors Society (later known as "Spirit Wind") was founded in 1998 by Ray Mason from Pictou First Nation.[34] The Carrier Tribal Council, led by Don Sellars, organized the First National Conference on Residential Schools in Vancouver, British Columbia, in June 1991.[35] In 1992, former students of the Fort Albany, Ontario, school organized the Kivalliqmiut Conference.[36] At the conference, participants shared stories of the sexual and physical abuse they had suffered. The conference resulted in the publication of written testimonies.[37] This event led to the formation of the St. Anne's Residential School Survivors Association (Piwadebetk Sivwas Kiyokaywin).[38] The British Columbia-based Indian Residential School Survivor Society (IRSSS) was formed in 1998. It focused on helping Survivors who had started claims through the stage of the litigation process.[39] The Indian Residential School Survivor Society was formally established in 2002.[40] The Survivor associations campaigned tirelessly for public recognition of the history and impacts of the residential school system. Many of these associations and their leaders played crucial roles in the negotiations that led to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

In the summer of 1990, in an effort to persuade Elijah Harper (an Aboriginal member of the Manitoba legislature) to drop his opposition to the Meech Lake Accord, a proposed package of constitutional amendments, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney offered to establish a royal commission on Aboriginal issues. Like many Aboriginal leaders, Harper was frustrated by the fact that the accord, which recognized Québec as a "distinct society" within Canada, had been reached after a brief negotiation, while the federal-provincial conferences on Aboriginal rights held after the patriation of the Constitution had failed to reach any agreement. As Harper noted, Aboriginal people also constituted a distinct society. Harper's political leverage came from the fact that the Manitoba government was seeking to dispense with a requirement to hold public hearings on the bill in order to approve the accord before the three-year period in which parliament and the ten provincial legislatures were required to approve the accord, elapsed. A motion doing away with the hearings required unanimous consent. Since Harper refused to give his consent, the deadline passed and the accord died.

In July of 1990, a request by the mayor of Oka, Québec, that Québec Provincial Police remove Mohawk protestors from a local cemetery precipitated a national crisis. The protestors, most of whom were from the Kanesatake First Nation, were protesting a decision to turn the cemetery and a pine wood claimed by the Mohawk into a golf course. One police officer was killed by gunfire when the police attempted to remove the protestors. The federal government dispatched 2,500 military personnel to the scene. Other First Nations staged protests in Québec and across the country to show their support for the Kanesatake Mohawk. The standoff lasted for eleven weeks without further loss of life. The golf course project did not proceed.

These two events contributed to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in August 1991.[34] The comprehensive mandate of the Royal Commission was to study the evolution of the relationship among Aboriginal peoples, the government of Canada, and Canadian society as a whole.[35]

Over four years of community meetings, the RCAP heard from many Survivors of residential schools, who shared their experiences of suppression of culture and language, physical violence, sexual abuse, and substandard living conditions.[36] The RCAP's 1996 final report devoted a chapter to the residential school system.[37] The report concluded that "a full investigation into Canada's residential school system, in the form of a public inquiry established under Part I of the *Public Inquiries Act*, is necessary to bring to light and begin to heal the grievous harms suffered by countless Aboriginal children, families and communities as a result of the residential school system."[38] The RCAP recommended that the inquiry both conduct research and create a national repository of records on the residential school system.[39] In addition, the inquiry would be empowered to recommend remedial action, including "apologies from those responsible,

compensation on a collective basis to enable Aboriginal communities to design and administer programs that assist the healing process and rebuild community life, and funding for the treatment of affected people and their families."[61]

In response to the RCAP report, the federal government issued *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*.[61] In relation to residential schools, *Gathering Strength* contained two significant components: the "Statement of Reconciliation" and the setting aside of $350 million in funding for a community-based residential school healing strategy.[62] Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Jane Stewart delivered the "Statement of Reconciliation" on January 7, 1998. Stewart said that,

> particularly to those individuals who experienced the tragedy of sexual and physical abuse at residential schools, and who have carried this burden believing that in some way they must be responsible, we wish to emphasize that what you experienced was not your fault and should never have happened. To those of you who suffered this tragedy at residential schools, we are deeply sorry.[63]

This marked the first time that a government minister formally expressed regret for the negative impacts caused by the residential school system.

The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) was established with a mandate to encourage and support community-based, Aboriginal-directed healing initiatives that addressed the legacy of physical and sexual abuse suffered as a result of the residential school system, including intergenerational impacts.[64] It was given a commitment of $350 million in funding. The AHF funded numerous educational, spiritual, and healing projects all over Canada.

Although *Gathering Strength* set up the first formal acknowledgement of responsibility by the federal government for its role in the residential school system and resulted in the creation of the AHF, the federal government largely ignored the RCAP's other recommendations, such as its call for the launch of a public inquiry, compensation, and a national repository of records.

Survivors turn to the civil courts

An earlier chapter in this report recounted the prosecution of residential school staff for physically and sexually abusing students. It described how officials were skeptical of student and parental reports of abuse. When complaints were taken seriously, school officials preferred to dismiss abusers rather than report them to the police. It often took concerted community action to prod the police into investigating complaints of abuse. As a result of these factors, prosecutions were limited in number, particularly during the years the schools were in operation. From the late 1980s onwards, prosecutions and convictions became more frequent. These convictions were often

the basis upon which former students launched civil cases seeking compensation for abuse that they experienced at the schools.

By the late 1980s, Survivors were seeking compensation in civil courts for the damages done to them in residential schools.[65] By October 2001, more than 8,500 residential school Survivors had filed lawsuits against the federal government, the churches, related organizations, and, where possible, the individual who committed the abuse.[66] By 2005, it was estimated that the volume surpassed 18,000 suits.[67]

The civil cases demonstrated that the government and churches could be held financially liable for the abuse that occurred in the residential schools. They also provided an opportunity for the courts to rule on who was ultimately responsible for the harm caused by the residential school system. But, most Survivors were not able to successfully pursue damage claims in the civil courts. Statutes of limitations, which limited the time within which a claim must be filed, posed a significant barrier. Because civil claims related to sexual assault were typically exempt from provincial limitation legislation, successful claims were generally limited to those involving sexual abuse.[68] The courts also refused to hear claims regarding loss of culture, family, or language. In one case, the judge highlighted this fact.

> I am not here assessing damages for the cultural destruction suffered by native peoples as a result of the residential school system, as just or deserving as such compensation might be. I am limited, as a court must be, to assessing damages for the wrongdoings which the Limitation Act recognizes as permitted causes of action at this time.[69]

The adversarial nature of the civil litigation process led to aggressive cross-examination of Survivors during examinations for discovery and at trial. Survivors were forced to relive and recount minute details of deeply traumatic events that occurred decades earlier when they were children. Their credibility was also attacked on the basis of alleged inconsistencies in their recollection of the events.[70] Such a process discouraged claims and led to victimization of Survivors for a second time.

Successful civil claims were generally those in which the perpetrator had already been convicted criminally. Bruce Feldthusen, of the University of Ottawa Law School, noted that "there does not appear to be a single reported decision where the court was to believe the residential school plaintiff in preference to the testimony of the alleged perpetrator where the latter was not a known sexual predator."[71] The civil court system also proved to be an extremely slow forum for redress for Survivors. The *Blackwater* case (discussed below), arising out of the Alberni, British Columbia, school, took nine years from the filing of the statement of claim to the Supreme Court's final decision on liability.[72]

Despite such limitations, the number of civil cases kept mounting.[73] The sheer number of them was a challenge in itself. According to a 2004 AFN estimate, the 18,000

civil lawsuits outstanding would take fifty-three years to conclude at a cost of $2.3 billion, not including the value of any compensation awarded to Survivors.[74]

The cases were lengthened by ongoing legal disputes over who was legally—and therefore financially—responsible for the abuse committed. In cases where Survivors sued the federal government but not the church associated with the school, the federal government sought to have the church added to the case as a defendant.[75] This led to complex legal arguments about which church institutions (such as the missionary orders, the individual dioceses, or the administrative bodies) were responsible for administering the residential schools, and whether the federal government or the churches were legally responsible for operating the schools. These disputes added greater complexity, legal costs, and delay to the civil proceedings.

The limitations of the civil courts in providing redress to Survivors became apparent from a review of a number of cases. After the 1988 conviction of Derek Clarke for abuses committed when he was a dormitory supervisor at the Lytton, British Columbia, school from 1964 to 1975, former student Floyd Mowatt filed a civil case seeking damages.[76] In 1999, Justice Janice Dillon of the British Columbia Supreme Court found that the government and the Anglican Church were both vicariously liable for Clarke's acts.[77] ("Vicarious liability" is a legal doctrine that holds that a person or persons can be held legally responsible for the actions of another person under their direction or control.) Church officials had become aware of the abuse while Clarke was working at the school. Instead of reporting him to the police and Indian Affairs, they had simply dismissed him. For this reason, Justice Dillon ruled that the Anglican Church had breached its fiduciary duty (a legal duty to act in another party's best interest) to Mowatt.[78] She assigned 60% of the responsibility for the damages to the Anglican Church and 40% to the federal government.[79] In a separate case (*T. W. N. A. v. Clarke*), several plaintiffs claimed damages for abuse. Canada and the Anglican Church admitted that the abuse occurred and that they were liable for it, but argued that the plaintiff's award should be reduced because their early lives were characterized by "dysfunctional families, ill health, alcoholism, violence, poverty and abandonment." Because of this, Canada argued, in Justice Paul Williamson's opinion, that the students "would have grown up with significant difficulties regardless of what happened" at the school.[80] In his decision, Justice Williamson rejected this argument. However, the British Columbia Court of Appeal accepted the argument that the damages should be lowered in consideration of the "pre-existing susceptibilities and disabilities" and the traumatic events that occurred in the plaintiffs' lives prior to the abuse in residential school.[81]

The 1993 conviction of William Starr for assaults he committed when he was the administrator of the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, residence from 1968 to 1984 gave rise to a number of civil cases. In 1998, Justice Ronald Barclay noted that more than 400 lawsuits were filed related to abuse at Gordon's, many of which involved Starr.[82] In

V. P. v. Canada, the federal government attacked the credibility of the plaintiff's testimony. Justice Darla Hunter of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench found that the sexual assaults had been committed and that the federal government was vicariously liable for those assaults, and awarded $80,000 in damages.[83] In *D. B. v. Canada*, the federal government questioned the plaintiff's credibility by focusing on the differences between the evidence given at trial and in out-of-court examinations conducted two years earlier.[84] Justice Ellen Gunn found that the plaintiff had not established that it was more likely than not that the assaults had occurred and dismissed the action.[85] In *H. L. v. Canada*, the federal government argued that if any sexual assaults had occurred, they were outside the scope of Starr's employment at Gordon's.[86] Justice John Klebuc of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench concluded, however, that since the government had provided Starr with access to, and power over, the student, and had set up a substandard management and supervisory structure over the school, it was vicariously liable for the abuse.[87] The court awarded the victim $495,000.[88] On appeal, the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal overruled Klebuc's decision to award the victim financial compensation for loss of past and future income.[89] Although the Supreme Court of Canada restored the award for loss of past income (but not of future income), it reduced the amount awarded. This was done to take into consideration the time the victim himself had spent in prison (on the principle that a person cannot suffer loss of income while incarcerated) and for the period of time that he had received social-assistance payments.[90]

In 1995, Arthur Plint, a former dormitory supervisor, was sentenced to eleven years in jail for abuses committed at the Alberni school in British Columbia between 1947 and 1968. In 1996, twenty-seven former students of the school, led by Willie Blackwater, filed a lawsuit claiming damages for abuse they suffered at the school. They were seeking damages from several individuals, the federal government, and the United Church of Canada. Although they did not deny that assaults took place, the federal government and the church denied that they were vicariously liable for Plint's actions.[91] In 1998, Justice Donald I. Brenner of the British Columbia Supreme Court found that the federal government and the United Church were both vicariously liable for Plint's actions.[92] Brenner ruled in 2001 that the federal government bore 75% of the financial responsibility for the damages and the United Church bore 25%.[93] A British Columbia Court of Appeal ruling that Canada bore 100% of the responsibility was overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada in 2005, which restored the earlier 75%/25% finding.[94]

Despite the fact that many churches had apologized for their role in the residential school system, at the same time, those same churches defended their role in the residential school system in the civil actions, and often employed aggressive legal tactics.

The structure of the churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, added a further level of complication to the cases. On a worldwide basis, the Roman Catholic

Church is organized into dioceses, each of which has a bishop (or, in larger dioceses, an archbishop) appointed by the Pope.[95] The courts had ruled that there was no national Roman Catholic entity that could be sued for damages.[96] Only other Catholic entities involved in the direct operation of the schools, such as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, or specific Roman Catholic dioceses could be sued. In a different Alberta case, the court dismissed claims against the General Synod of the Anglican Church on the basis that it was merely a coordinating body and not directly involved in any of the day-to-day operation of the schools.[97]

Disputes over these issues extended the court process and increased costs. They also raised concerns as to whether the entities being sued would have the financial resources to meet their liabilities. The legal costs, as well as money paid in out-of-court settlements and damages to successful litigants in the *Clarke* civil cases, led the Anglican Diocese of Cariboo to declare bankruptcy.[98] There were reports during this period that four Catholic organizations involved in the operation of residential schools might also be forced into bankruptcy.[99] To address these concerns, in 2000, representatives of the United, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches requested a meeting with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to discuss the "present and future implications for the churches of crippling lawsuits resulting in curtailment of important community work."[100]

In June 2000, the federal government had transferred political responsibility for the civil residential school cases to a newly created Office of Indian Residential Schools Resolution, under the direction of the deputy prime minister.[101] In the summer of 2001, this office commenced negotiations with representatives of the church organizations on how to apportion costs for the payment of out-of-court settlements.[102] These talks failed to reach an agreement. As a result, in October 2001, Deputy Prime Minister Herb Gray announced that the federal government would fund 70% of the damages in out-of-court settlements or settlements reached through alternative dispute-resolution processes. This was limited, however, to "cases of validated physical or sexual abuse." The churches would be liable for the remaining 30% of the damages.[103] Over the course of the following year, the federal government negotiated individual agreements with the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian Church as to how the out-of-court settlements were to be funded. The Anglican agreement, which was based on the principle that the church was liable for 30% of any award for damages, committed the church to $25.7 million in compensation for former residential school students. In return, the government agreed to stop naming Anglican Church institutions as third parties in civil lawsuits.[104] In a similar agreement, the Presbyterian Church agreed to contribute $2.1 million towards out-of-court settlements.[105]

The United Church of Canada objected to the fact that the federal government was limiting compensation to sexual and physical abuse cases and was not prepared to provide funding to compensate Survivors for "the loss of language, culture and

spirituality" that it felt constituted "a part of the legacy of the schools."[110] However, it did not enter into a formal bilateral agreement with the federal government over the matter of compensation. Instead, the United Church and the federal government worked out an informal arrangement in which the United Church contributed 25% to 30% of settlement awards, on a case-by-case basis.[107]

By May 2002, negotiations between the federal government and the Catholic entities (who had operated the majority of the schools) ceased without any agreement's being reached.[108]

The Alternative Dispute Resolution Process

In November 2003, the federal Office of Indian Residential Schools Resolution launched its National Resolution Framework. A central element of this was a voluntary dispute-resolution program that came to be referred to as the "Alternative Dispute Resolution [ADR] Process." This was a voluntary process for resolution of certain claims of sexual abuse, physical abuse, and forcible confinement, without having to go through the civil litigation process.[109]

The ADR process had been preceded by a number of pilot projects. These projects involved groups of approximately forty to sixty complainants from a single community who were willing to proceed on the terms contained in a framework agreement designed by the federal government and Survivors.[110] These framework agreements created a process to "validate the claims" of Survivors, where the validation was done by "fact finders" (lawyers chosen by the Survivors and the government), who would ask Survivors and other witnesses a series of questions and make factual determinations.[111] The pilot projects included monetary compensation as well as other remedies, such as therapy and education.[112]

The ADR process established two compensation categories. Category A applied to persons who claimed physical abuse with injuries lasting more than six weeks and who required medical treatment or hospitalization, or were victims of sexual abuse, or both. Up to sixty points were awarded for sexual abuse, based on the severity of injuries and severity of consequences, or up to twenty-five points for physical abuse. If the abuse took place in British Columbia, Ontario, or the Yukon, compensation was capped at $245,000. If the abuse took place anywhere else, it was capped at $195,000. Category B applied to claims of physical abuse that did not result in injury lasting six weeks or more or require hospitalization or serious medical treatment, and to claims of wrongful confinement. Compensation was capped at $1,500, except where aggravating factors were present, in which case, it was extended to $3,500.[113] Ted Hughes, a former judge of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench and the former deputy attorney general of British Columbia, was appointed as the chief adjudicator of the

new program.[114] In early 2004, the federal government began receiving applications for participation in the new process. By July 2006, approximately 6,000 new applications had been filed.[115]

The AFN report

In November 2004, the Assembly of First Nations published a highly critical assessment of the new process. One of the most significant criticisms was that applicants did not always automatically receive the full amount of compensation to which they were entitled. On the basis of the federal government's interpretation of its bilateral agreements, new claimants from Anglican- and Presbyterian-run schools were compensated up to 100% of their settlements.[116] (Survivors from United Church-run schools were provided 100% compensation as a result of the informal arrangement with the federal government discussed previously.)[117] Canada paid 70% of the award to Survivors from Catholic-run schools.[118] To recover the other 30%, Survivors would have to initiate separate court actions against the appropriate Roman Catholic entities.

The new compensation model was also criticized for its failure to provide compensation for the consequences of abuse experienced at the schools and the impacts it could have on the Survivor's life. The compensation model failed to address emotional abuse, loss of family life, or loss of language and culture. The new report also expressed concern about the fact that compensation was limited by the application of the principle that abuse be measured against the "standards of the day."[119] In addition, the process was criticized as being slow and ineffectual. In the first year since the launch of the program, only nineteen claims were settled, with 700 other applications filed and awaiting hearing.[120]

In place of the model, the new recommended the adoption of an approach that addressed both compensation and the need for healing and public education on the history and legacy of the residential schools.[121] The new proposed a two-part approach to compensation. The first part was a lump sum to be awarded to anyone who attended residential school (with additional amounts for every year that a student attended). This would provide general compensation to those matters not covered by the new, such as emotional abuse, loss of family life, or loss of language and culture. A second, individual compensation program was recommended for those who had been physically or sexually abused. Other recommendations focused on reconciliation and public education, and included the creation of an opportunity for Survivors to tell and record their experiences.[122] Many elements of this proposal were eventually incorporated in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

The findings of the new report were supported by a February 2005 report from the Canadian Bar Association (CBA). This report also identified the need to make legal

did available to applicants and to ensure that compensation paid reflected awards in comparable cases.[xv] The CRA pointed to the apparent bias in a system in which the government acted as both the defendant and the administrator.[xvi]

The House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development undertook its own study of the effectiveness of the IAP program. Representatives of many survivor associations appeared before the committee, including Spirit Wind, the National Residential School Survivors Society, Children of the Shingwauk Alumni Association, the Indian Residential School Survivors Society, and the Mushkegowuk Indian Residential School Survivors Association.[xvii] Representations were also made by the AFN and the CRA.

Beth Brandon, a survivor who attended the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school, spoke of the harsh and frightening levels of discipline that she experienced at the school. One of the transgressions for which she was punished was speaking Ojibway. She said that the experiences left her emotionally scarred for life. Under the IAP process, she qualified only for Category B level compensation. "I was offered only $11,000, which I viewed down as a slap in the face." Because she had not suffered sexual abuse, her appeal was denied. She told the committee, "I feel that I was re-victimized by an uncaring and unsympathetic government process that was only interested in denying justice at whatever cost."[xviii]

The committee's April 2005 report concluded that "the IAP process is an excessively costly and inappropriately applied failure, for which the Ministers and her officials are unable to rather a convincing defence."[xix] The process was criticized for having been developed without the consultation or input of survivors, for failing to be impartial and even-handed, for limiting compensation to an excessively narrow class of survivors, and for the slow pace at which it provided compensation. It was also noted that the IAP was "strikingly disconnected from the so-called pilot projects that preceded it."[xx]

The following month, the Supreme Court of Canada issued a decision that allowed survivors to pursue class-action lawsuits for residential school damages. The expedited IAP program, coupled with the prospect of large-scale class-action suits, moved the government and the churches back to the negotiating table.

Class-action lawsuits

Changes to Canadian law in the 1990s created the opportunity for survivors to undertake class-action lawsuits to pursue their claims for compensation. In a class-action lawsuit, one party sues as a representative of a larger "class" of people. Such suits are seen to serve a public benefit because they reduce overall costs by eliminating the

would be impossible to arrange, where the genuine access of the victims and non-victims to the functions of a trial and post-trial proceedings.[32]

In order to proceed, a class action claim must be certified by a judge in a preliminary proceeding. This requires the claim to demonstrate that:

- It has a "cause of action" or actionable claim;
- It represents an "identifiable class" of two or more persons;
- It has common issues among the class;
- It is the preferable procedure for the claim;
- It has a representative plaintiff who will fairly represent the class.

In Ontario, each of these requirements is set out in the Class Proceedings Act, 1992, S.O. 1992, c. 6 (the "CPA"). Ontario was the first province to enact class action legislation in 1992.[33] British Columbia's class action legislation came into force in 1993.[34] Quebec adopted its legislation in 1978. In the subsequent years, most other provinces adopted similar legislation.[35] The Ontario Court Rules were amended to provide for an equivalent class procedure to the Ontario Court in 1990.[36] The Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut courts have come to rely on the 2001 Supreme Court of Canada decision that regulates courts to authorize class actions under one of the applicable civil rules of practice in the absence of specific legislation.[37]

In 1995, Nora Bernard, on behalf of the Windsor-area Indian Residential School Survivors Association, received from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Nora Bernard v. Canada.[38] Since Nora brought the first class action legislation in that case, the court found a representative action that sought compensation for all survivors of the Windsor-area school on a variety of grounds, including loss of culture and language.[39] (A "representative action" was a civil procedure to allow multi-plaintiff individuals, with a common interest, could sue on behalf of or for the benefit of all similar individuals. Key decisions would be processed that are binding for the claims of other individuals.) The Windsor-area Indian Residential School Survivors' Association struggled to survive as Nora's family and pursued a national class action case (Assembly of First Nations).[40]

In February 1999, the volume of child cases was so large that the Court of Queen's Bench established a special protocol for dealing with residential school cases.[41] The parties were directed to select fifty sample cases that would be negotiated and processed cases. Findings made in these cases would act as a guide to the other outstanding school actions.[42] After the cases ignore our safeguarding personal matters, the first one case was scheduled to begin trial in January 2005. The case was adjourned to allow the parties to focus on the negotiations of what has been the issues.[43]

In October 1998, a group of survivors of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, filed a statement of claim in the Ontario Superior Court on behalf of all students who attended the school between the years 1922 to 1969, as well as their families.[44] The

j) That the costs allocated to a broad reconciliation package will be a payment to Aboriginal students along the lines referred to in the new Report [the new report on the new process];

k) That the preparation of any settlement allocated for legal fees will be reviewed;

l) That the Federal Representative will have the flexibility to explore additional and programmatic elements to a broad reconciliation package as recommended by the new;

m) That the Federal Representative will ensure that the safe and orderly creation these payments as soon as possible; and

n) That the Federal Representative will work and consult with the new to ensure the acceptability of the comprehensive resolution, to develop truth and reconciliation processes, commemoration and healing elements and to look to improvements to the Alternative Dispute Resolution Process.[163]

On May 10, 2005, one day after the accord between the new and the federal government was reached, the federal government appointed former Supreme Court Justice Frank Iacobucci to act as negotiator. He was mandated to reach a residential school agreement by March 31, 2006.[164]

While negotiations were ongoing, the Alberta and Ontario and the class action suits were temporarily suspended to permit the parties to focus on negotiating a settlement.

Until this point in time, Inuit organizations had not been involved in the class action process. On August 10, 2005, Nellie Cournoyea, the chair of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (the organization representing the Inuvialuit, the Inuit people of the western Arctic), wrote to Iacobucci, expressing her concerns that Inuit and Inuvialuit organizations had been left out of the political accord and subsequent negotiations. She feared that an agreement could be reached that would exclude Inuit survivors.[165] Incorrectly this, she letter requested that Iacobucci's mandate be broadened to include negotiations with Inuit political organizations.[166] On September 1, 2005, a teleconference took place between representatives of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Makivik Corporation (which represents the interests of the Inuit of Nunavik in northern Quebec), the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (which represents the interests of Inuit of Nunavut), the Labrador Inuit Association, and Pauktuutit (an Inuit women's organization). During the call, Iacobucci indicated that his mandate was limited to the lawyers representing residential school survivors who had filed legal actions against Canada.[167] After the meeting, two additional class action suits were filed, in the Northwest Territories, Bonnetrouge Kuptana was named as the representative plaintiff in *Kuptana v. Canada (Attorney General)*. In Nunavut, Michelline Amaruq was named as the representative plaintiff in *Amaruq v. Canada (Attorney General)*.[168]

The negotiations led by Iacobucci addressed a wide range of topics, including confidentiality of the process, eligible schools and institutions, settlement implementation procedure, counsel fees, and the goals of healing and reconciliation.[169] Iacobucci also met with other stakeholders, including representatives from the British Columbia Survivors' Society, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, the Native Women's Association of Canada, and the Grand Council of the Crees.[170]

In 2006, the parties agreed to merge the existing class-action suits into a single class action in each of the nine jurisdictions in which they had been originally filed (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Québec, Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories). This action would be referred to as "*Fontaine v. Canada (Attorney General)*." In this case, Phil Fontaine acted as the representative plaintiff on behalf of all former residential school students and the AFN.[171]

The Agreement in Principle and the Settlement Agreement

On November 20, 2005, Canada, the plaintiffs from the various class-action suits, the AFN, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the Makivik Corporation, the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., and representatives from the various church entities signed an Agreement in Principle (AIP). This agreement formed the basis of a settlement package that Iacobucci would recommend to the federal government.[172] The AIP incorporated many of the recommendations contained in the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Bar Association reports on the ADR process. After further negotiations, the parties signed the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement on May 23, 2006.[173]

The AIP has five substantive components: the Common Experience Payment, the Independent Assessment Process, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, funding for commemoration projects, and support for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

All who resided at a residential school would be eligible for a Common Experience Payment (CEP), based on verified residence and attendance at one of the residential schools listed in the Settlement Agreement. Claimants would receive a base payment of $10,000 for attendance plus $3,000 for each additional year or partial year of attendance. As well, $1.9 billion was to be allocated to a trust fund under the Settlement Agreement for the purpose of making these payments. In the event that such amount was insufficient to pay all the verified claims of the Survivor class members, the government of Canada agreed to supplement that fund with the additional funding necessary to ensure full payment for all such claims. If $60 million of the allocated funds remained unspent after all the claims had been paid, all recipients would be eligible for an additional amount up to $3,000 in personal credits for educational purposes

for themselves or eligible family members. Remaining funds would go to the National Indian Brotherhood Trust Fund and to the Inuvialuit Education Foundation.

In addition to the CEP based on residence at a residential school, there was an Independent Assessment Process (IAP) available for those who were sexually assaulted or who suffered injury from serious physical assaults or neglect at the schools. This process included compensation for abuse by other students on the basis that the operating church or government had a legal obligation to provide reasonable supervision. Entitlement to an IAP hearing and award did not require that a student be a resident at the school. For example, students who attended a residential school as day students, or children of school staff who lived on-site with their parents and attended classes at the residential school, were eligible to make an IAP claim.

The IAP was overseen by an Oversight Committee consisting of representatives of the parties to the Settlement Agreement. Adjudicators approved by the Oversight Committee heard the claims and were supervised by a chief adjudicator also appointed by the Oversight Committee. The IAP was to have independence from the parties in the adjudicative work.

The IRSSA required that the IAP adjudicators use a points system, under which points were assigned to each claim, based on the type and frequency of assaults. In addition and in response to the recommendations of the AFN report, points would be assigned according to the consequences of the abuse for each Survivor. The categories used were "serious dysfunction," "some dysfunction," "continued detrimental impact," "some detrimental impact," and "modest detrimental impact." Additional points could be awarded for difficulties in obtaining and retaining employment, and inability to undertake or complete education, resulting in underemployment or unemployment. Verbal abuse, racist acts, humiliation, and the witnessing of violence to others were also recognized as aggravating factors deserving of additional compensation points. The total number of points awarded to a claimant determined the amount of the claimant's award.

The maximum IAP payment under the points system was $275,000, but up to an additional $250,000 could be awarded in complex cases, based on actual income loss "determined using the legal analyses and amounts awarded in court decisions for like matters."[174]

The IAP was to have authority to set the legal fees to be paid to the claimant's counsel. The Settlement Agreement provided that 15% of each award would be paid by the government of Canada directly to a claimant's lawyer for legal fees, with legal counsel entitled to receive an additional amount in fees up to another 15% if approved by the adjudicator. The government of Canada would provide funds for legal fees up to the original 15%, but any additional legal fees would have to be paid by Survivors from their damage awards.[175]

The IRSSA committed $60 million in funding to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.[176]

The IRSSA committed $125 million in funding to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation to "support the objective of addressing the healing needs of Aboriginal People affected by the legacy of Indian Residential Schools, including the intergenerational impacts, by supporting holistic and community-based healing to address the needs of individuals, families and communities."[177]

The IRSSA also set aside $20 million for commemoration initiatives. The goals of the commemoration initiatives were broad and included the promotion of healing and reconciliation for Survivors; the contribution to a sense of identity, unity, and belonging; the promotion of Aboriginal languages, cultures, and values; and the memorialization of the residential school experience in a tangible and permanent way.[178]

With respect to the churches' financial contribution, the IRSSA confirmed that the bilateral agreements that the Anglican and Presbyterian churches entered into with the federal government would be incorporated into the Settlement Agreement, with the total contribution amount reduced. The United Church agreed to contribute between $6.4 and $6.9 million, and the Catholic Church entities agreed to contribute between $54 and $79 million.[179]

The approval orders

Before it could come into effect, the IRSSA had to be approved by Superior Court judges of the nine jurisdictions in which the class-action suits had been filed. In his decision, Justice Winkler reviewed the history of the residential school system.

> The flaws and failures of the policy and its implementation are at the root of the allegations of harm suffered by the class members. Upon review by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, it was found that the children were removed from their families and communities to serve the purpose of carrying out a "concerted campaign to obliterate" the "habits and associations" of "Aboriginal languages, traditions and beliefs," in order to accomplish "a radical re-socialization" aimed at instilling the children instead with the values of Eurocentric civilization. The proposed settlement represents an effort to provide a measure of closure and, accordingly, has incorporated elements which provide both compensation to individuals and broader relief intended to address the harm suffered by the Aboriginal community at large.[180]

Justice Brenner of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, having heard testimony from over eighty objectors over five days of hearings, discussed the difficult decision Survivors were being asked to make.

> This settlement represents a compromise of disputed claims. For that reason it is undoubtedly the case that claimants will not be happy with every provision of the settlement. Some might well choose to reject it. However, those members of the class who decide that the disadvantages of the Settlement Agreement outweigh its advantages are free to opt out of the provisions ... and pursue their individual claims.[181]

Justice Brenner noted that, in at least one respect, the CEP, by compensating all former residential school students, represented an improvement over what might be granted by the courts.

> A repeated theme in these cases is the effect that attendance at Indian Residential Schools had on the language and culture of Indian children. These were largely destroyed. However, no court has yet recognized the loss of language and culture as a recoverable tort. Even if such a loss was actionable, most claims would now be statute barred.[182]

On the condition that the parties address a number of issues, seven courts approved the Settlement Agreement on December 15, 2006.[183] Courts in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories approved it on December 19, 2006, and January 15, 2007, respectively.[184] On March 22, 2007, the courts in the nine jurisdictions signed identical orders that incorporated the concerns identified in the approval decisions and merged each of the proceedings into a single class-action suit, certified the action, and gave final approval for the Settlement Agreement. After the courts approved the Settlement Agreement, a five-month opt-out period commenced on March 22, 2007. Survivors could opt out of the Settlement Agreement, thereby retaining their rights to pursue remedies in the civil courts. If more than 5,000 individuals opted out, the Agreement would not be implemented.[185] By the time the five-month period ended on August 20, 2007, a total of 1,074 individuals had opted out. The Settlement Agreement came into effect on September 19, 2007.

The Agreement was a negotiated settlement between specific parties to a series of lawsuits. As a result, it did not cover all Aboriginal people who underwent residential schooling in Canada. The list of schools in the IRSSA was limited to schools with a residential component (including, in some cases, hostels) for which the federal government was prepared to agree it had responsibility for management and operation. The Agreement also did not address the claims of Métis students who attended provincially operated or mandated residential schools. Aboriginal students who attended church-run residential schools that were not primarily intended for Aboriginal children were not included, and neither were Aboriginal children who attended mission-run schools in Newfoundland and Labrador. Also not included were Aboriginal students who may have attended day schools or convent schools while living in private boarding homes, or who spent much of their childhoods in sanatoria.

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, with all its limitations, was a monumental achievement. It was the product of decades of work by Survivors, their families, and supporters, and represents an historic moment in colonized and exploited peoples' struggle for justice and recognition.

It proved to be the catalyst for one more remarkable event.

Canada apologizes

In May 1883, when justifying the Canadian government's decision to build its first three industrial schools on the Prairies, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald told Parliament that residential schools were needed if Aboriginal children were to be successfully assimilated. Day schools, he said, had proved to be a failure.

> When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages; he is surrounded by savages, and though he may learn to read and write his habits, and training and mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write. It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men.[186]

Just over 123 years later, on June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper stood in Parliament before invited Survivors, Elders, leaders of Aboriginal political organizations, and members of Parliament, to make a very different announcement:

> I stand before you today to offer an apology to former students of Indian residential schools. The treatment of children in these schools is a sad chapter in our history....
>
> Two primary objectives of the residential school system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture....
>
> Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.
>
> To the approximately 80,000 living former students and all family members and communities, the Government of Canada now recognizes that it was wrong to forcibly remove children from their homes, and we apologize for having done this....
>
> The government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly. We are sorry....[187]

After Harper's statement, leaders from the opposition parties in Parliament offered their own apologies. Stéphane Dion, leader of the Liberal Party, said he was sorry that

> Canada attempted to eradicate your identity and culture by taking you away from your families when you were children and by building a system to punish you for who you were.
>
> To first nations, Inuit and Métis, mothers and fathers, I am so very sorry we took away your children. I am sorry we did not value you as parents. I am sorry we did not trust and respect you.[188]

Jack Layton, the leader of the New Democratic Party, began his speech by acknowledging the Elders and paying tribute to the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit leaders who were in attendance.[189] In establishing residential schools, he said, Canada had "set out to kill the Indian in the child. That choice was horribly wrong. It led to incredible suffering. It denied First Nations, Métis and Inuit the basic freedom to choose how to live their lives. For those wrongs that we have committed, we are truly sorry."[190]

Gilles Duceppe, the leader of Bloc Québecois, said, "Picture a small village, a small community. Now picture all of its children, gone. No more children between 7 and 16 playing in the lanes or the woods, filling the hearts of their elders with their laughter and joy. Imagine the ever-present fear of watching their children disappear when they reached school age."[191]

After the politicians spoke, Aboriginal leaders in attendance had a chance to respond. National Chief Fontaine noted that

> the significance of this day is not just about what has been but, equally important, what is to come. Never again will this House consider us the Indian problem just for being who we are.... Brave survivors, through the telling of their painful stories, have stripped white supremacy of its authority and legitimacy. The irresistibility of speaking truth to power is real.... This day ... signifies ... a respectful, and therefore, liberating relationship between us and the rest of Canada.[192]

Mary Simon, President of the Inuit Tapirlit Kanatami, expressed hope that the apology would mark the beginning of a new relationship between the federal government and Inuit people.

> I am also filled with optimism that this action by the Government of Canada and the generosity in the words chosen to convey this apology will help all of us mark the end of this dark period in our collective history as a nation....
>
> Let us now join forces with the common goal of working together to ensure that this apology opens the door to a new chapter in our lives as aboriginal peoples and in our place in Canada....

> I stand here today ready to work with you, as Inuit have always done, to craft new solutions and new arrangements based on mutual respect and mutual responsibility.[169]

Patrick Brazeau, National Chief of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, observed, "This day is about the survivors and those of you in the gallery. I am proud to be here on this floor and representing some of you."[170]

Clement Chartier, President of the Métis National Council, expressed reservations related to the exclusion of Métis-attended, provincially run, schools from the Settlement Agreement.

> I really do feel conflicted, because I am one of the survivors of a Métis residential school, which was no different from Indian residential schools except for the question of who paid. As for who paid, it was those young people who went there, people like Don, people like me. We paid.
>
> I hope and I do believe sincerely in the words of the ministers that we will address this. I said that the Métis Nation would be here to share this day with those people who have waited for so long. We want to celebrate, and we do celebrate, with them, with you, with all Canadians, because this is a day for all Canadians. It is a day for us to move forward.[171]

Beverly Jacobs, President of the Native Women's Association of Canada, spoke of the devastating impact residential schools had on Aboriginal cultures and traditions, and the need for revitalization.

> Residential schools caused so much harm to that respect and to that honour. There were ceremonies for young men and for young women that were taken away for generations in residential schools. Now we have our language still, we have our ceremonies, we have our elders, and we have to revitalize those ceremonies and the respect for our people not only within Canadian society but even within our own peoples ... it is about making sure that we have strong nations again.[172]

Willie Blackwater, a Survivor, activist, and plaintiff in a successful court action, remarked, "The apology makes a huge difference for me, because it will help ... the pain and suffering I inflicted not only on my wife and daughter but also to my son ... and his mother, because they felt the pain and they felt the atrocities too."[173]

Stan Beardy, Grand Chief of Nishnawbe Aski Nation, stated that although the Settlement Agreement did not erase the pain endured by Survivors, it was "an important first step towards reconciliation between the Government of Canada and First Nations."[174]

Another step on the journey of which Beardy was speaking was taken when, as required by the Settlement Agreement, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was established.[175] The Commission's mandate was to tell Canadians about

the history of residential schools and the impact these schools had on Aboriginal peoples and on Canada, and to guide a process of reconciliation.

The Settlement Agreement and the formal apology by Prime Minister Stephen Harper on behalf of Canada represent the culmination of years of political struggle, changes in societal attitudes, court decisions, and negotiation. Through it all, the Survivors kept the issue alive. Their victory deserves celebration.

These events do not bring the residential school story to an end. The legacy of the schools remains. One can see the impact of a system that disrupted families in the high number of Aboriginal children who have been removed from their families by child welfare agencies. An educational system that degraded Aboriginal culture and subjected students to humiliating discipline must bear a portion of responsibility for the current gap between the educational success of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. The health of generations of Aboriginal children was undermined by inadequate diets, poor sanitation, overcrowded conditions, and a failure to address the tuberculosis crisis that was ravaging the country's Aboriginal community. There should be little wonder that Aboriginal health status remains far below that of the general population. The over-incarceration and over-victimization of Aboriginal people also have links to a system that subjected Aboriginal children to punitive discipline and exposed them to physical and sexual abuse.

The history of residential schools presented in this report commenced by placing the schools in the broader history of the global European colonization of Indigenous peoples and their lands. Residential schooling was only a part of the colonization of Aboriginal people. The policy of colonization suppressed Aboriginal culture and languages, disrupted Aboriginal governance, destroyed Aboriginal economies, and confined Aboriginal people to marginal and often unproductive land. Where that policy resulted in hunger, disease, and poverty, the federal government failed to meet its obligations to Aboriginal people. That policy was dedicated to eliminating Aboriginal peoples as distinct political and cultural entities, and must be described for what it is: a policy of cultural genocide.

Despite being subjected to aggressive assimilation policies for nearly 200 years, Aboriginal people have maintained their identity and their communities. They continue to assert their rights to self-governance. In this, they are not alone. Like the Settlement Agreement in Canada, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is a milestone in a global campaign to recognize and respect the rights of Indigenous peoples. It is time to abandon the colonial policies of the past, to address the legacy of the schools, and to engage in a process of reconciliation with the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

Notes

[illegible]

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

61. Indian Chiefs of Alberta, *Citizens Plus*, page 20 of 35 page portable document file.
61. Indian Chiefs of Alberta, *Citizens Plus*, page 12 of 35 page portable document file.
64. Indian Chiefs of Alberta, *Citizens Plus*, page 16 of 35 page portable document file.
65. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy*, 197.
66. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 393–394.
67. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 389–390.
68. Weaver, "Indian Policy," 6, 10–15.
69. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 575–586, 975–980.
70. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 803.
71. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 808.
72. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 450–457.
73. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 808.
74. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 805.
75. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 420–425.
76. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 588.
77. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 579.
78. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 838.
79. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 808.
80. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 588.
81. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1047.
82. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 425–426.
83. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 2057.
84. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1969–1969.
85. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 175. For Lickers's position, see Leslie, *Assimilation, Integration or Termination?*, 116.
86. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1966–1967.
87. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1967.
88. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 768, 787–788.
89. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 179–171.
90. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1988.
91. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 179–172.
92. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1948, 855.
93. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 200.
94. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 525.
95. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 725.
96. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 179–171.
97. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1998–1999.
98. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 772.
99. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 675.
100. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 569.
101. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1987.
102. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1988.
103. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1959.
104. [1947, March, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75- 003, series 3-3, box 76, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of

the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 1. [CRS-002139-00001]

125. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 4. [CRS-002139-00001]
126. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 6. [CRS-002139-00001]
127. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 8. [CRS-002139-00001]
128. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1495.
129. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1496.
130. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1498.
131. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1499.
132. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1473.
133. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 9. [CRS-002139-00001]
134. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 10. [CRS-002139-00001]
135. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1497. For identification of the school described in the report as a day school, see: Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1510.
136. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1498.
137. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 872.
138. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 874.
139. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1455.
140. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 9. [CRS-002139-00001]
141. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1987, 9. [CRS-002139-00001]
142. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1497-1498.
143. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1474.
144. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 15008-15009.
145. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1987, 1498.
146. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1986, 3, 15.

147. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1946, 27.
148. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 360.
149. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1946, 27.
150. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 360.
151. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 161.
152. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 173–174.
153. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 361.
154. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 168.
155. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 167.
156. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 170–171.
157. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 365–366.
158. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 171.
159. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B161 2435, "Trends in Indian Education: An Address Given by Mr. R. F. Battle, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Alberta and the Northwest Territories to Friends of Indians Society," January 1957. [OGP-023472]
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161. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7187, file 371/25-1-021, Memorandum from the Acting Director, DIAND to the Deputy Minister, 22 October 1948. [NCA-005266]
162. Fortin, "La ruée vers le nord," 426–427; Frenette, "Une société en voie d'urbanisation," 495–496.
163. Aboriginal and Northern Development Canada, The Nations Map of Quebec, Innu Takuaikan Uashat mak Mani-Utenam, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/Mobile/Nations/profile_uashatmaliotenam-eng.html (accessed 12 November 2014).
164. Frenette, "Une société en voie d'urbanisation," 509–510.
165. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG22, volume 1202, file 379/2, part 1, Memorandum from D. M. Mackay [MacKay], Acting Director, DIAND to the Deputy Minister, 22 November 1948. [SIR-000413]
166. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 321/25-1-352 (Ctrl #407-Q-195), Philip Phelan to J. D'Astous and Mr. Doucet, 31 July 1952. [NPC-400715]
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168. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG22, volume 1202, file 379/2, part 1, D. M. Mackay [MacKay] to the Deputy Minister, 22 November 1948. [SIR-000413]
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Memorandum from A. R. Jolicoeur to Superintendent, Pointe-Bleue, 17 June 1959. [FTG-000737]

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192. Lanthier, "L'émergence des nouvelles villes," 610, 614, 624, 628.
193. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2.15, box 22, file 3, "Report of the Superintendent, Indian School Administration to the M.S.C.C. Executive," Henry G. Cook, 12 February 1957. [AAC-090809]
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233. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 600-5, T. T. B. Bissett to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 18 August 1941. [ISR-0005466]

234. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6207, file 468-5, part 9, "Extract from Principal's Report regarding The Mount Elgin School. Original on Annual Report of Principals of Indian Residential Schools – 1944." [MER-000897.1]

235. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1946, 12.

236. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1940*, 160; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1941*, 165.

237. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-3, part 1, from George Doxey to T. A. Crerar, 9 December 1943. [AEMB-120443]

238. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 205/25-1, volume 2, 06/1949-12/1955, "Memorandum Presented by a Committee of the Churches Co-Operating with the Government in Indian Education to the Minister of Mines and Resources, the Honourable L. S. [T. A.] Crerar, January 12, 1943." [AEMB-200910]

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241. TRC, NRA, St. Paul's Archives, J. O. Plourde to Reverend and Dear Father, 28 February 1948. [OMI-033292]

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245. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, Burnaby, 1995/23-16-079, volume 2, School Attendance Reports – Christie Residential School, 1953-1956, FA 16-136, Acc. V1994-95/116, box 15 [320313], N. W. Garrand to D. Kearney, 4 November 1953. [CST-003883]

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247. TRC, NRA, No document locations, no document file source, H. F. Dunlop to Philip Phelan, 4 November 1946. [SEC-000863.1]

[50] TBC, R65-A, IR&C – Resolutions Section – ISN Electronic Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-1-1-2, volume 1, "Regulations With Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph (a) of Section 114 of the Indian Act," 28 January 1933 [ISN 4001283-4001]. For an example of the 1951 application form, see: TBC, R65-E, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6050, file 1/1-25-2, part 1, "Application for Admission to Residential School," 18 October 1951. [ISN 4001101-4001]

[51] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1937*, 51; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1937*, 56. As an equivalent to 1910, Indian Affairs had taken on responsibility for directly employing the teaching staff in schools at Shubenacadie, the Mohawk Institute, and Port Alberni. TBC, R65-A, IR&C, [redacted], file 1/25-1-1-2, volume 1, 1952 - 1955, Canal Frontier to J. F. Mulvihill, 20 October 1953. [ISN [redacted]]

[52] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7395, file 1/25-1-7-2, Harvey G. Cook, 1 April 1924. [ISN 4104863]

[53] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1935*, 53.

[54] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6795, file 1/25-1-1, part 1, 19: 66, Jones to Deputy Minister, 8 June 1954. [ISN [redacted]]

[55] Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1474.

[56] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8753, file 600/25-1, part 2, Noel Nichol to F. O'Grady, 27 February 1958. [ISN 4001104-4001]

[57] TBC, R65-E, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, PA 55-22, Acc. 1999-01/060, box 95, file 760-42, part 1, Operation of Indian Residential Schools, 1957 - 1959, Canal Frontier to Secretary, Treasury Board, 16 August 1957. [redacted]

[58] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6795, file 1/25-1-1, part 2, 19: 66, Jones to Deputy Minister, 2 January 1957. [ISN 4001103]

[59] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6795, file 1/25-1-1, part 2, 19: 66, Jones to Deputy Minister, 2 January 1957. [ISN 4001103]

[60] TBC, R65-A, IR&C, [redacted], file 1/25-1-1, part 4, 1957 - 1958, 16: 88, Jones to Glassy & Cook, 17 December 1957. [ISN [redacted]]

[61] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8796, file 1/25-1-1, part 4, 19: 88, Watters to Canal Frontier, 25 October 1957. [ISN 4001104]

[62] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8795, file 1/25-1-1, part 3, "Meeting with church representatives, February 26, 1957, [illegible], Copeland Building, in connection with new proposals for the financing of the operation of residential schools." [ISN 4001103]

[63] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8796, file 1/25-1-1, part 4, 19: 88, Watters to Canal Frontier, 25 October 1957. [ISN 4001104]

[64] TBC, R65-A, IR&C, [redacted], file 1/25-1-1-2, volume 2, J. H. Gordon to Mr. Tim Dimond, 27 June 1968. [ISN 4001104]

[65] TBC, R65-A, Library and Archives Canada, RG2, volume 6668, file 99/1991, PC, 1/1957 (1961), George F. Davidson to The Secretary, Treasury Board, 24 August 1961. [PRIV 3001]

[66] TBC, R65-A, Deschatelets Archives, Ottawa, 038 A387-4/7.05, Doc. 6, "Report of administrative committee," 21 January 1966. [ISN 4001106]

[67] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1910*, 60; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1910*, 65.

[68] TBC, R65-A, IR&C – Resolutions Section – ISN Electronic Files Collection – Ottawa, RG1/25-1-1, 1957 - 1977, volume 1, BC Affairs, F. Cleary to R. F. Battle, 10 June 1957. [ISN 4001101-4001]

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(27) [illegible] – [illegible]

(27) [illegible] – [illegible]

(27) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

(28) [illegible] – [illegible]

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60. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-3, E. L. Stone to Director, Indian Health Services, Department of National Health and Welfare, 3 March 1947. [NPC-601017]
61. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 1, 03/1948–08/1948, L. B. Pett to B. F. Neary, 9 July 1947. [AEMR-174127]
62. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-24, 1947, "Nutrition Publications," May 1946. [AEMR-170360F]
63. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 1, 03/1948–08/1948, L. B. Pett to B. F. Neary, 11 December 1946. [AEMR-170057]
64. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 1, 03/1948–08/1948, P. E. Moore to principals and teachers, 2 December 1946. [AEMR-170061]
65. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6306, file 652-5, part 6, L. B. Pett to P. E. Moore, 8 December 1947. [SMD-001897-0000]
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71. Nathoo, Holmes, and Ostry, "Analysis of the Development of Canadian Food Fortification," 376. For definition of Vitamin B complex, see: *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Vitamin B Complex," http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/630998/vitamin-B-complex (accessed 16 December 2013).

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73. Nathoo, Holmes, and Ostry, "Analysis of the Development of Canadian Food Fortification," 376.
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81. Aykroyd, Jolliffe, Lowry et al., "Medical Resurvey of Nutrition," 27.
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91. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 923, file 385-7-2, part 1, Mar/46–Jan/52, Percy Vivian to L. B. Pett, 21 February 1949. [AEMR-170909]
92. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, Dr. L. B. Pett to H. C. Rice, 5 May 1948; [AEMR-171824] RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-13, 10/1943–01/1951, L. B. Pett to N. Patterson, 11 May 1948; [AEMR-173929] RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, L. B. Pett to N. W. Garrard, 13 May 1948; [AEMR-171821] RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, L. B. Pett to B. E. Neary, 3 August 1948. [AEMR-171781] For the use of the term "dietary survey" to describe these reports, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 4, 1951–1955. [AEMR-172556]
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95. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-45, 1948–1953, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, Alberni Indian Residential School, Port Alberni, British Columbia, 17 and 18 June 1948." [AEMR-170399]
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98. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, St. Alban's Indian Residential School, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, 7 June 1948." [PAR-003800-0002]
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100. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, Edmonton Indian Residential School, Edmonton, Alberta, 10 June 1948." [AEMR-170501A]
101. For examples of concerns over the high turnover among kitchen staff at Alberni, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-45, 1948–1953, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, Alberni Indian Residential School, Port Alberni, British Columbia, 17 and 18 June 1948." [AEMR-170399] For examples of concerns over kitchen staff and facilities at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, Kenora, Ontario, Revisited May 31 to June 2nd, 1948." [AEMR-170495A]
102. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, "Report on Inspection of Food Service, Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, Kenora, Ontario, Revisited May 31 to June 2nd, 1948." [AEMR-170495A]
103. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, P. Phelan to E. S. Jones, 5 October 1948; [PAR-003800-0000] P. Phelan to N. W. Garrard, 5 October 1948; [AEMR-170497] P. Phelan to George Dorey, 5 October 1948; [AEMR-170499] P. Phelan to J. P. Mackey, 5 October 1948; [AEMR-170493] P. Phelan to Frieda Matthews, 5 October 1948; [AEMR-170495] P. Phelan to J. O. Plourde, 5 October 1948. [AEMR-170502]

104. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6199, file 465-5, part 11, J. O. Plourde to P. Phelan, 15 October 1948. [KNR-000532.]
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108. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, B. F. Neary to G. R. Turner, 20 January 1948. [AEMR-171317]
109. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, "Outline of Nutrition Study in Indian Residential Schools," April 1948. [AEMR-171753]
110. Ogilvie and Pett, "A Long Term Study," 192.
111. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, L. B. Pett to J. W. Brown, 3 September 1948. [AEMR-171775]
112. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 923, file 385-7-2, part 1, Mar/46–Jan/52, L. B. Pett to Mrs. H. S. Hughes-Caley, 24 November 1948. [AEMR-170960]
113. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, FA 29-143, file 851-6-4, part 1, 11/1944–01/1956, L. B. Pett to G. D. W. Cameron, 18 October 1948. [AEMR-174077]
114. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-604, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, L. B. Pett to B. F. Neary, 17 January 1949. [AEMR-171712]
115. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, FA 29-143, file 851-6-4, part 1, 11/1944–01/1956, L. B. Pett to G. D. W. Cameron, 18 October 1948. [AEMR-174077]
116. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Tables of statistics on nutrition and health status of IRS children in study – results from St. Paul's IRS, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170342A]
117. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Charts regarding nutritional and health information for Blood IRS, 10, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170345]
118. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Summary of food records for St. Mary's IRS, Kenora, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170347]
119. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Tables of statistics on nutrition and health status of IRS children in study – results from Cecilia Jeffrey IRS, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170349]
120. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Tables of statistics on nutrition and health status of IRS children in study – results from Shubenacadie IRS, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170351]
121. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 08/1949–11/1949, Charts detailing information from nutritional study, Alberni, 13, 14, 16. [AEMR-170341A]
122. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives of Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948–07/1949, Dr. L. B. Pett to B. F. Neary, 22 June 1949. [AEMR-171672]

123. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 2089, file 651-6-4, part 1, Nov/46-Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, "Indian Residential Schools Project Diet Changes to be Started in September 1948." [AEMR-170485A]
124. *For milk as a source of riboflavin*, see: Powers, "Riboflavin (Vitamin B-2) and Health," 1352.
125. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, 10/1949-11/1951, L. B. Pett to A. E. Caldwell, 25 April 1950. [120.037/36]
126. *For 100 milligram dosage at Steinbruckabe*, see: Ogilvie and Pett, "A Long Term Study," 181.
127. *For studies on airmen*, see: Lingfoetter, McIntosh, Tice et al., "Relations of Ascorbic Acid Intake," 110.
128. *For bread baking at the Kenora schools*, see: TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949. [AEMR-171662] *For information on milling of Newfoundland flour in Kenora*, see: TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, L. B. Pett to C. A. Morrell, 29 June 1949. [AEMR-171664]
129. *For rationale of selection of the Anglican school at Cardston as the control*, see: TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, L. B. Pett to S. H. Middleton, 29 July 1949. [AEMR-171654]
130. Pett, "Values from Tripling the Milk," 426.
131. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 4, L. Bradley Pett, "Development of Anemia on Newfoundland Enriched Flour," *for presentation to the American Institute of Nutrition*, New York City, April 1952. [CIC-002052-0000]
132. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG10, volume 8706, file 1/25-13, part 4, L. B. Pett to H. M. Jones, 21 March 1958. [NPC-400776]
133. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, L. B. Pett to B. F. Neary, 22 June 1949. [AEMR-171672]
134. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, L. B. Pett to Father St. Jacques, 29 July 1949; [AEMR-171651] L. B. Pett to A. E. Caldwell, 29 July 1949 [120.035/95]
135. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, 10/1949-11/1951, A. E. Caldwell to L. B. Pett, 15 March 1950. [AEMR-170245]
136. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, L. B. Pett to C. A. Morrell, 29 June 1949; [AEMR-171664] A. Duplessis-Couture to L. B. Pett, 4 July 1949. [AEMR-171663]
137. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, "Outline of Nutrition Study in Indian Residential Schools," April 1948. [AEMR-171753]
138. TRC, NRA, *Library and Archives Canada*, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 1, 02/1948-07/1949, "Outline of Nutrition Study in Indian Residential Schools," April 1948. [AEMR-171753]
139. In early 1949, the inspector of Indian schools in British Columbia did administer the California Test of Mental Maturity to seventy Grade Two and Grade Three pupils at the Alberni school and at an Indian Affairs day school. The results led him to conclude that "group intelligence tests are of little value in determining the mental ability of Indian children in British Columbia." The test results did, for him, confirm the "importance of the Language factor." The test had two components, one in which language played a greater role than in the other. In all but a few cases, the students scored much better on the "non-Language" sections. TRC,

NAC, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6030, file 150-44, part 1, Passed on Indian Research School Administration, 1909-1933, FK 10-17, Extract from Inspector Indian Schools to British Columbia Dated March 3, 1945. [AEMS 2555454a]

159. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 2, 60/1949-11/1949, L. B. Pelt to G. K. Stevens, 22 August 1949. [AEMS 1702137]

161. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, List, 13 October 1949. [CIC-0010001-0004]

162. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, 60/1949-11/1953, "Slave Lake Cree Songs," 27 October 1949. [CIC-0002113-0003]

163. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, List, 13 October 1949. [CIC-0013501-0004] See also: National Archives of Canada, RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-4, part 3, 18/1949-11/1951, Health Improvement Program at Cecilia Jeffrey, 14 October 1949. [AEMS 1702270]

164. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, Catherine M. Ross to Miss Storrie, 3 November 1949. [CIC-0013004]

165. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 393-6-4, part 4, L. B. Pelt to R. S. MacCallum, 10 September 1951. [CIC-0028330]

166. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 975, file 388-6-4A, L. B. Pelt to H. F. Neary, 23 September 1949. [AEMS 1710490]

167. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 2, 60/1949-1950, Bertrand Neary to L. B. Pelt, 27 October 1949. [AEMS 1742490] [RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-14, 1946-1949], L. B. Pelt to H. F. Neary, 9 November 1949. [AEMS 1713535]

169. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, part 6, NAC, R. D. Ragan to the Department of Indian Affairs, 12 March 1949. [PAR-0003003-0004] R. D. Ragan to H. F. Neary, 15 March 1949. [PAR-0055004-0001] See also: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, part 6, NAC, Registration by H. F. Neary, 23 March 1949. [PAR-0003002] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, volume 6373, part 6, 1949 NAC, Superintendent to H. F. Neary, 16 July 1949. [PAR-0047501]

169. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, volume 6373, part 6, 1949 NAC, R. D. Ragan to Indian Affairs, 20 June 1949. [PAR-0047507-0000]

170. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, volume 6373, part 6, 1949 NAC, R. D. Ragan to Indian Affairs, 2 October 1949. [PAR-0046602]

171. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, T64-5, volume 6373, part 6, 1949 NAC, R. F. Neary to H. G. Cook, 6 October 1949. [PAR-0046600]

172. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, 1953/6-1-750, volume 2, 60/14-05/56, NAC – Edmonton, R. D. Ragan to G. H. Gooderham, 3 October 1950. [MIKI 0002073-0001]

173. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 773/1-13-003, volume 1, 1950-1973, CH-IAQ, R. D. Ragan to Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 20 November 1950. [MIKI 0015476]

174. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 4, 02/1949-07/1949, L. B. Pelt to H. F. Neary, 4 November 1949. [AEMS 1713736]

175. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2000, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/48-Jan/56, Questions to Indian Schools, "Report on Imposition of Food Services, Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, Kenora, Ontario, Revised May 31 to June 2nd, 1949" [AEMS 17000534]

176. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 974, file 388-6-4, part 3, T. C. Ross to L. B. Pelt, 27 January 1950. [CIC-0010006]

(157. 1982, 1983, Library and Archives Canada, RG25, volume 4716, file 300-1-6, part 1, [illegible] 11-1983, Mary Macbeth to T. C. Rose, 1 May 1939, [illegible])

(158. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 1 March 1939, [illegible])

(159. 1982, 1983, Library and Archives Canada, RG25, volume 4716, file 300-1-6, part 1, Collector Rose to Ayres, 4 May 1939, [illegible])

(160. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 4 June 1939, [illegible])

(161. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 21 August 1939, [illegible])

(162. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 7 December 1939, [illegible])

(163. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1A, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 1 May 1951, [illegible])

(164. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1A, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 2 June 1951, [illegible])

(165. 1982, 1983, Library and Archives Canada, RG25, volume 4716, file 300-1-6, part 1, 1951–1953, R. N. MacCallum to L. B. Pett, 15 October 1951, [illegible])

(166. 1982, 1983, Library and Archives Canada, RG25, volume 4716, file 300-1-6, part 1, Report by R. Evans and N. Baker Hillside, January 1952, [illegible])

(167. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, R. N. MacCallum to C. B. Pett, 12 July 1946, [illegible])

(168. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 14 September 1946, [illegible])

(169. 1982, 1983, The Parliament of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1983-7004, box 14, file 1A, T. C. Rose to Orlando Matthews, 2 May 1951, [illegible])

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361. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, "Food Services – St. Mary's Residential School, Cardston, Alberta, January 16, 1970"; [NPC-605562] "Food Services – St. Paul's Residence, Cardston, January 14, 1970"; [NPC-605560] J. H. Wiebe to J. B. Bergevin, 2 February 1970. [NPC-605559]
362. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, J. H. Wiebe to J. B. Bergevin, 2 February 1970. [NPC-605559]

363. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, "Food Services Visit, Sechelt Student Residence," Agnes Campbell, 12 May 1970. [NPC-621169a]
364. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, L. Leclerc to A/Regional Director, Manitoba Region, 26 November 1970. [NPC-605542]
365. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to R. Martin, 3 July 1973. [NPC-605336g]
366. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, L. Leclerc to A/Regional Director, Manitoba Region, 26 November 1970. [NPC-605542]
367. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Winnipeg, RG10, Acc. 2001-01035-4, box 015, file 501/25-13-11-084G, volume 1, "Food Service, MacKay Student Residence," 8 November 1971. [DRS-110140-0002]
368. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to Charron, 14 June 1973. [NPC-605336c]
369. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, "Food Services Visit, Sechelt Student Residence," Agnes Campbell, 12 May 1970. [NPC-621169a]
370. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives, Pupil Residence – General, 1973–1978, Archival box 4-2, Archival Acc. G1995-004, Gary Black, 28 February 1973. [FNU-001748]
371. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, N. Ross to Acting Regional Director, Saskatchewan Region, "Food services at All Saints Indian Residential School as Observed on June 17, 1971," 5 July 1971. [NPC-605536p]
372. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851/6-4, part 5a, 1969–1972, Medical Services: Nutrition in Indian Schools, O. J. Rath to Duhaime, 1 December 1970. [AEMR-171877]
373. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, M. Thomson to Zone Director, 31 March 1970. [NPC-605554a]
374. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, M. Thomson to Regional Director, Northern Region, 26 June 1970. [NPC-605546a]
375. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Winnipeg, RG10, Acc. 2001-01035-4, box 015, file 501/25-13-11-084G, volume 1, "Food Service, MacKay Student Residence," 8 November 1971. [DRS-110140-0002]
376. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, "Food Service at Qu'Appelle Student Residence," 19 January 1972. [NPC-605534c]
377. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to W. Starr, 27 June 1973. [NPC-605336f]
378. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to M. Fillion, 13 June 1973. [NPC-605336b]
379. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to L. Whiteman, 23 May 1973. [120.17682I]
380. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3420, file 851-6-D355, J. Kirkbride to Michaud, 29 January 1973. [ORC-008493]
381. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, file 73-500-402, volume 2, Fort McPherson Hostel [Anglican] – Quarterly Returns [Fort McPherson], 01/72–12/76, Transfer no. 0330, box 8-21, M. Thomson, to Regional Director, Northern Region, 23 November 1972. [FHU-002366-0000]

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353. Health Canada, Food and Nutrition, Canada's Food Guides from 1942 to 1992, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fn-an/food-guide-aliment/context/fg_history_historique_ga-eng.php#table6.

Fire hazard: 1940–2000

Table 38.1. Schools or residence buildings destroyed by fire

1. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1940*, 186.
2. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1940*, 186.
3. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1941*, 160.
4. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6308, file 653-5, part 6, E. S. Jones to The Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, 10 April 1942. [T101-000272]
5. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6112, file 350-5, part 1, Thomas Orford to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 February 1943. [FGA-001026]
6. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1944*, 155.
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 767-5, part 3, H. A. Alderwood to R. A. Hoey, 3 January 1945. [JON-003675] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1945*, 160.
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1, part 2, R. A. Hoey, Acting Deputy Minister, 29 May 1946.[NIRI-000117]
9. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Anglican Diocese of Athabasca Fonds, Edmonton, AB, Acc. PR1970.0387/1641, box 41, Anglican Diocese of Athabasca Fonds, file A320/372, Indian Schools – General, Official Correspondence of Bishop Sovereign, 1941–1947, Report of Fire at All Saints' School, Lac la Ronge, Sask. 2 February 1947. [PAR-123539]
10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8756, file 671/25-1-010, J. P. B. Ostrander to Indian Affairs Branch, 19 January 1948. [T101-000260-0001]
11. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, volume 224, file 630/111-1, part 1A, Government School – Fort Simpson – N.W.T., 1950, Director to LeCapelain, 14 February 1950. [FNH-000211]
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8038, file 511/6-1-030, part 1, E. S. Jones to J. P. B. Ostrander, 6 September 1952. [GJV-000148]
13. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collections – Ottawa, file 486/6-1-004, J. Lemire to R. F. Davey, 24 March 1965; [MC1-054408] INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/6-1-015, volume 8, G. S. Lapp to Indian Affairs, 26 March 1965. [MC1-088329]
14. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Ikhakvik School, 1972–1985, Transfer No. 0341, box 5, H. B. Crans to Hodgson, 22 March 1973. [CHS-000260]
15. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives, Pupil Residence – General, 1974–1978, Archival box 3-3, Archival Acc. G1995-004, J. Milligen to Department of Education, 15 October 1974. [CHS-000211-0001]

16. TBC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – HS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 371/6-1-019, volume 8, Michael Meyer to A. Kroeger, 13 May 1975, [HQ-000061-0002]
17. TBC, NRA, on-document location, on-document file source, Keith Brannon, "Fire Claims 3rd Floor of Berrycut Hall," *The Journal*, Volume 4, Number 10, 10 October 1999, [CNN-000383]

Table 10.2. Outbuildings destroyed by fire, 1900–1987

1. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6445, file 601-10, part 7, Lejac Residential School General Report, 31 March 1989, [123-002906]
2. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 601-5, part 6, 1930–1945, Microfilm reel C-8768, R. Hoey to D. M. MacKay, 24 October 1940, [123-003150]
3. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 601-5, part 7, 1930–1945, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8775, NAC Ottawa, D. M. MacKay to Secretary Indian Affairs, 21 May 1941, [HCN-000890]
4. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6443, file 601-1, part 2, R. Hoey to Mr. 2 December 1942, [123-000814]
5. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6955, file 159-60, part 1, Philip Phelan to Mr. Usery, 1 May 1945, [N003-001522]
6. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 763-5, part 6, Director to Acting Deputy Minister, 24 October 1946, [CEP-000862]
7. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6279, file 384-5, part 13, L Wade to Indian Affairs, 14 February 1948, [N00-001426]
8. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6359, file 607-5, part 6, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs, 17 May 1949, [N003-000126]
9. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6353, file 663-5, part 6, W. J. D. Kinsley to Indian Affairs, 21 May 1949, [RLR-000402]
10. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6353, file 663-5, part 6, W. J. D. Kinsley to J. P. B. Ostrander, 20 October 1950, [RLR-000533-0001]
11. TBC, NRA, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. 1988-7004, box 14, file 10, J. C. Goss to Norman Paterson, 6 February 1954, [CJC-000716]
12. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8252, file 470/6-1-002, part 4, L Shadwood to Indian Affairs, 27 January 1955, [T89-0025768]
13. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8275, file 494/6-1-014, part 5, Eric L. Barrington to G. Swarstrom, 23 February 1957, [PLR-000406-0002]
14. TBC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – HS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 74/6-1-353, volume 2, H. Larkshore to R. F. Davey, 7 February 1958, [ARR-0001231]
15. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8709, file 91/1/6-1, part 4, 1959, Microfilm reel C-14108, G. J. Kelly to W. E. Grant, 3 March 1959, [123-000875-0001]
16. TBC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, volume 1205, file 315/111-0, part 4, School Buildings – Fort Simpson, N.W.T. [Construction and Maintenance], 1958–1961, F. Semple to S. Lesage, 31 July 1959, [T913-0010333]
17. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession, 71.226, Tome II, box 7, 22 November 1961, cited in Peterson, "Blue Quills," 144.

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84. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6310, file 862-7, part 9, Henry Cook to R. C. Scott, 8 March 1948, [LAC-MIKAN-0003]

85. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6310, file 862-7, part 9, C. Mathers to Indian Affairs, 29 April 1948, [LAC-MIKAN-0003] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6310, file 862-7, part 9, Bernard Neary to C. Mathers, 1 May 1948, [LAC-MIKAN-0003]

86. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 11030, Shannon File, 1948, Letters to Indian Affairs Branch, J. L. Whitney to Philip Phelan, 21 July 1948, [LAC-0002002]

87. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6750, file 160-2, part 3, H. A. Henry to H. McGill, 10 September 1941, [LAC-MIKAN-0000]

88. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6300, file 861-7, part 9, C. Talbot to E. Edwards, 10 September 1948, [LAC-0003758-0004]

89. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6300, file 861-7, part 9, Philip Phelan to Norman Paterson, 13 December 1948, [LAC-0003761]

90. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6300, file 865-7, part 9, J. G. Rhoads to R. A. Hoey, 17 November 1942, [LAC-0003696]

91. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6211, file 470-7, part 4, Clifford Sweezman to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 16 November 1948, [LAC-0003913]

92. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6810, file 877-7, part 7, NAC, D. M. MacKay to Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, 25 February 1949, [LAC-0003990-0003] RG-10, volume 6811, file 885/23-7, Inspector's Report on Alberni Indian Residential School, 11 March 1946, [LAC-0003965-0003]

93. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6811, file 881-1, part 2, 1950- 1951, Economy Agency – Economy Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, 68-10-17, Woodfibre and C. 4777, NAC Ottawa, D. M. MacKay to Secretary Indian Affairs, 20 May 1951, [LAC-0003993]

94. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6200, file 270-1, part 9, E. McPherson to Indian Affairs, 2 November 1961, [LAC-0003]

95. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6351, file 753-1, part 6, 1967, Mission Hospital C. 4767, J. O. Lovland to R. A. Hoey, 23 December 1946, [LAC-0003]

96. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6255, file 575-1, part 7, R. W. Volk to Indian Office, Battle, Manitoba, 13 March 1961, [LAC-0003]

97. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.B 71.250 B92 3B9, C. Pant. Schools to Principal, Commodity, Alberta, school, 30 January 1948, 6-3, [ARCP-0300]

98. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, 29-10-177 v63 98/638 and v65-96/667, Peers volume 1 (197-21-4, Agent's Monthly Reports – Kootenay Agency [Formerly Shamrock File, now to 2 parts], 12/1951-06/1956, NAC Burnaby, J. M. Dare to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 2 October 1951, [LAC-0003]

99. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6278, file 383-1, part 9, Geo. H. Spriggs to J. Muir, 3 December 1947, [LAC-0003]

100. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-29, volume 1127, file 660-4-3-600, part 1a, E. L. Stone to Superintendent of Indian Health Services, 31 May 1960, [NAC-0003]

101. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6300, file 769-1, part 3, G. S. Lapp, Superintendent, Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch to Indian Affairs Branch, 5 November 1948, [LAC-0003]

102. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG-10, volume 6807, file 881-1, part 9, H. E. Neary to W. S. Arneil, 17 January 1951, [LAC-0003]

62. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8663, file 673/6-1-037, part 2, R. Beauregard to R. S. Davy, 25 July 1955. [MFM-001501]
63. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8664, file 673/6-1-037, part 3, G. Pelzel to E. S. Jones, 21 November 1955. [MFM-002123-0001]
64. TRC, NRA, IS&C – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 74/6-1-358, volume 1, W. J. Harvey to Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 9 April 1956. [IC3A-000289]
65. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8663, file 954/6-1, part 6, C. I. Bowen to W. S. Arneil, 15 November 1956. [LAW-042897-0001]
66. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 942-5, part 4, 1950–51, volume 6482, Microfilm reel C-8796, A. H. Henry to B. H. Neary, 22 January 1951. [LAW-000506]
67. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8695, file 956/6-1, part 3, C. F. Ilves to J. Meek, 23 March 1957. [LAC-000055]
68. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 773/6-1-004, volume 8677, part 6, 1957–1958 NAC, Office of the Fire Commissioner, St. Paul's Residential School, 25 November 1957. [PAR-005151-0001]
69. TRC, NRA, IS&C – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 103/6-1-750, 12/57-09/58, volume 1, RCAF, Office of the Fire Commissioner, St. Mary's Residential School, 26 November 1957. [MRV-000939]
70. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, RG10, FA 10-136, Acc. 1991-85/316, volume 28 [5001226], file 988/6-1-005-10, Kuper Island Indian Res. School – Fire Prevention, 1957–1964, J. V. Boys to Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, 30 May 1958. [KIJP-012371]
71. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8695, file 777/6-1-007, part 4, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Office of the Fire Commissioner, 21 August 1958. [IRD-004129-0001]
72. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10361, file 506/6-1-019, part 3, Charles Buck to R. H. Regan, 28 May 1958. [PAR-000037-0002]
73. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8279, file 494/6-1-015, part 4, I. S. Allan to Mr. Mathers, 21 January 1959. [MC3-001910-0001]
74. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Office of the Fire Commissioner, Re: Sturgeon Lake Indian School, Calais, Alberta, 14 July 1959. [GMA-002257-0001]
75. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6201, file 466-5, part 5, N. C. Rathburn to W. J. Zimmerman, 9 March 1960. [TAV-002600-0001]
76. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8253, file 479/6-1-031, part 7, N. C. Rathburn to W. J. Zimmerman, 10 February 1960. [TAV-000042]
77. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8253, file 479/6-1-031, part 8, R. E. Davey to Regional Supervisor Toronto, 31 March 1959. [TAV-004113]
78. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8253, file 479/6-1-031, part 8, Fire Inspector to W. J. Zimmerman, 14 November 1959. [TAV-004133-0001]
79. TRC, NRA, IS&C – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 479/25-1-001, volume 2, I. H. Sturgeon for J. Mussell to Olga Maxwell, 26 August 1970. [TAV-001163]
80. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6329, file 658-1, part 2, 13, H. A. Allerwood to T. A. Crerar, 13 December 1943. [PAR-001130]
81. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 4, R. A. W. Swinton to Chas. Buck, 11 December 1953. [PAR-017652]

82. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 2, J. P. B. Ostrander to Indian Affairs, 30 April 1946. [PAR-000805]
83. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6322, file 658-5, part 11, D. M. MacKay to Deputy Minister, 20 April 1949. [PAR-017369]
84. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 1, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to His Excellency, The Governor-General in Council, 22 November 1950. [PAR-000516]
85. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 2, D. N. Morrison to J. P. B. Ostrander, 27 July 1951. [PAR-017611-0001]
86. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 4, R. A. W. Switzer to E. S. Jones, 8 October 1953. [PAR-017891-0001]
87. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 5, Fire Inspection Report, March 1954, Prince Albert Indian Residential School, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, March 1954. [PAR-000612]
88. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 8776-0-5 (RG55), volume 195, T. B. # 475360, Sep-08-1954, Authority to repair the Residential School at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan using day labour under departmental supervision, 20 August 1954; [NPC-520206] RG10, volume 8647, file 651/6-1, part 11, Henry G. Cook to R. F. Davey, 20 January 1960. [PAR-017046]
89. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 2, Charles Buck to C. A. Thomson, 9 April 1954. [FAR-002480]
90. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6456, file 885-5, part 7, Microfilm reel C-8778, C. H. Buck to R. A. Gibson, 20 July 1949. [KUP-004163]
91. For information about the Fraser Lake escapes in the 1930s, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 4, 1926–1933, Microfilm reel C-8768, "Extract from Indian Agent Moore's Report for the Month of February 1932, regarding the Lejac Indian Residential School." [LEJ-004508]
92. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6456, file 885-5, part 7, Microfilm reel C-8778, C. H. Buck to R. A. Gibson, 20 July 1949. [KUP-004163]
93. TRC, AVS, Leona Agawa, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, 6 November 2010, Statement Number: 01-ON-4-6 NOV10-006.
94. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6316, file 656-5, part 7, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 18 August 1941. [PAR-008548]
95. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-015, volume 1, Philip Phelan to G. Swartman, 21 February 1945. [MCI-000756]
96. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-015, volume 1, G. Swartman to Indian Affairs, 1 March 1945. [MCI-000757]
97. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6278, file 584-5, part 11, George H. Spriggs to J. Waite, 27 December 1945. [SBR-001317-0001]
98. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6278, file 584-5, part 12, I. M. Wardle to R. A. Hoey, 3 January 1946. [SBR-001364-0000]
99. TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 6-15-1, volume 1, Report of Commission on Indian Affairs, 1946. [AEMR-016240]
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138. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC 88NCC-GS 75-103, series 2.15, box 24, file 5, "Superintendent's Visit with Principal Oulton in Vancouver, October 6, 1949." [Un-c0001037-0001-002]

139. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, 88NCC-GS 75-103, box 23, file newsletter 5, 2.15, "Report of Visit of Acting Superintendent to St. Alban's Residential School, Prince Albert, January 19-20, 1949." [Un-c0000927-0001-001]

140. TRC, NRA, Headquarters, 950/1-13, 85/53-05/77, volume 1, 182, J. D. Orange to H. F. Davey, 3 March 1950. [MSR-000996]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(xxi) [illegible]

(xxii) [illegible]

(xxiii) [illegible]

(xxiv) [illegible]

(xxv) [illegible]

(xxvi) [illegible]

(xxvii) [illegible]

(xxviii) [illegible]

(xxix) [illegible]

[illegible]

used. Archives of Canada, RG 10, volume 6807, file 779/25-2 (pt 6), part 2, 1957–1958, Miscellaneous and C. J. Gill, DIAND, 1958, NAC – Ottawa, ON. || Crowfoot to J. H. Wilkie, 6 August 1958. [OCLC 497 [illegible]]

(211) [NAC, RG10, Library and Archives of Canada – Ottawa, RG 10, volume 6807, file 779/25-2 (pt 6), part 2, Circular C. Gill, to R. E. Davey, 1 July 1958. [OCLC 497 [illegible]]]

(212) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/25-2 (pt 6), [779/25 (pt6)], 1957–1958, volume 6, 807 [illegible]. – R. E. Davey to Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Ontario, 20 January 1958. [OCLC 497 [illegible]]]

(213) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1956/1-1-1 (1-1-1), volume 1, School Establishment – Caucasian Students Residence Yukon Education Division, Yukon Territory, 451/10-001-01/100-10, Control No. 60-4, 01, 02. Secretary to J. Phelan, 25 May 1960. [C 105 01 001 1]

(214) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 779/1-1-1 (pt 1), volume 2, 1957–1958, Draft correspondence [illegible] from to W. E. Graham, 2 March 1959. [OCLC 497 [illegible]]]

(215) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 779/1-1-1 (pt 1), volume 2, 1957–1958, R. E. Davey to C. Noel, Education Division, Ottawa, 10 March 1959. [OCLC 497 [illegible]]]

(216) [NAC, RG10, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, 80 C 8/M/C 6.26.75, 001, series 2-11, box 26, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to Old Sun School – January 15, 16, 1958." [LAC – [illegible]]]

(217) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/1-1-1 (pt 1), volume 2, 1957–1958, Henry Cook to L. Lamplugh, 9 May 1958. [NAC 497 [illegible]]]

(218) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/25-1 (pt 1), [779/25 (pt1)], 1958–1967, volume 1, 6807 [illegible] [prior] Lamplugh to W. E. Graham, 25 April 1958. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(219) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/25-1 (pt 1), [779/25 (pt1)], 1958–1967, volume 1, 807 [illegible]. R. Battle to Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Ontario [illegible], 30 April 1958. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(220) [NAC, RG10, Library and Archives Canada, 779/25-2 (pt 6), part 2, 1958–1967, RG/GT, J. S. Woody to Indian Affairs, 8 September 1958. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(221) [NAC, RG10, Library and Archives Canada, [779/25 (pt 6)], volume 1, 01/01–12/31, RG/GT. – Education Service, Richard Clemmer to J. R. Ellis, 10 April 1961. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(222) [NAC, RG10, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, 80 C 8/M/C 6.26.75, 001, series 2-11, box 26, file 7, Henry G. Cook, Superintendent, Indian School Administration, "Report of the Indian School Administration Superintendent to the W.A.C.C. Executive, Toronto, Ontario, May, 1962." [LAC – [illegible]] For Mr Taggart's full name, see: [NAC, RG10, RG/GT. – Education Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 971/25-1 (10), volume 1, Henry G. Cook, Superintendent, Indian School Administration of the Anglican Church of Canada, Ottawa to G. E. Davey, 27 August 1962. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(223) [NAC, RG10, National Capital Regional Service Centre – ILM – Ottawa, file 801/25-1, volume 2 (location 9-11-100), Henry G. Cook to R. E. Davey, 6 July 1962. [NAC 8 497/[illegible]]]

(224) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 971/25-1 (10), volume 1, Henry G. Cook to R. E. Davey, 27 August 1962. [OCLC [illegible]]]

(225) [NAC, RG10, RG/GT – Records and Archives Service – 10th Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 971/25-1 (10), volume 1, R. E. Davey to H. G. Cook, 10 August 1962. [OCLC [illegible]]]

216. TRC, NRA, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Tyler Bjornson File, "Presbyterian Research," "Cecilia Jeffrey Presbyterian Indian Residential School Staff Handbook," 7–8. [TRC-0012206]

217. TRC, NRA, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Tyler Bjornson File, "Presbyterian Research," "Cecilia Jeffrey Presbyterian Indian Residential School Staff Handbook," 5–6. [TRC-0012206]

218. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSGC-GS 75-103, box 23, file 9, "Superintendent's Visit to Bishop Horden School, Moose Factory, April 3rd–8th, 1952." [13a-c0000021-d00022-001]

219. TRC, NRA, OSAC – Resolution Sector – 108 Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GR8 Files, box 58, file 27, Principal, Gordon's Indian Residential School to Mr. Buckle, 14 May 1957. [GEC-0058358] The letter is unsigned, for evidence that Southard was principal at this time, see: TRC, NRA, OSAC – Resolution Sector – 108 Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GR8 Files, box 60, file 62, Albert Southard to Bernice Glaister, 8 June 1957. [GEC-0201888]

220. Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSGC-GS 75-103, box 24, file 4, "Superintendent's Visit to the Prince Albert Indian School, December 3rd to 5th, 1958."

221. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSGC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, file 5, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Phillip's Residential School, Fort George, PQ – June 29th to July 2, 1960." [13a-c0000027-d00022-001]

222. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to Old Sun School, June 11, 14 & 15, 1956." [13a-c0000033-d00017-001]

223. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, file 1, "Memorandum re Subjects to be discussed with Mr. Davey, Ottawa 20/10/58." [13a-c0000035-d00019-001]

224. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Paul's School, Cardston, June 12 & 13, 1958." [AAC-080586]

225. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, series [illegible], box [illegible], file [illegible], "Brocket," undated. [AAC-085433] Although this document is undated, it deals with issues discussed in other reports from the 1968–69 period. See: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, "Superintendent's Visit to Brocket, October 24 and 25, 1969"; [AAC-085366] Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSGC-GS 75-103, "Superintendent's Visit to Brocket, April 4 1969." [AAC-085362]

226. TRC, NRA, OSAC – Resolution Sector – 108 Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 956/1-13, volume 1, 01/51–05/67, Mildred Rae Beattie to C. E. Hives, 7 November 1957; [TRC-0030011] G. M. Hives to Mr. Parminter, 19 November 1957; [TRC-0030012] Marion Hurley to E. D. Fulton, 13 December 1957; [TRC-0030005] C. E. Hives to Marion Hurley, 29 November 1957. [TRC-0030014]

227. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, P. J. Sheahan to Father Provencial, 28 December 1967. [CPS-0002775]

228. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, J. R. Birch to Father Sheahan, 29 December 1967. [CPS-0002776]

229. TRC, NRA, Anglican Diocese of Cariboo Archives, section #205, St. George Indian Residential School, Card DC, 2C11, Lytton St. George's School, #08.44, "All Saints Indian Residential

School Staff Manual 2nd Revision, 1967, A. W. Harding, Vice-Principal," 26–27. [AEMR-177341]

230. TRC, AVS, Merle Nisly, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 14 December 2011, Statement Number: 2011-4193.

231. TRC, AVS, Anonymous, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Statement Number: 2011-2033; TRC, AVS, Anonymous, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Statement Number: 2011-0268; TRC, AVS, Eleanor Jackson, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vancouver, British Columbia, 2 December 2011, Statement Number: 2011-0054.

232. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Paul's School, Cardston, January 14th to 16th, 1954"; [AAC-080555] Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, file 801/6-1-940, volume 2, School Building Carcross Res., 1952–1956, FA 10-151, Archival Acc. V198990/101, Archival box 10, R. J. Meek to W. S. Arneil, 8 October 1954. [CAR-013738] For James and Evelyn Ellcome's first names, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, 773/6-2-004, part 1, 1956–1958, NAC. [PUR-006469]

233. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file number, "Minutes of Meeting of the Indian School Committee of Edmonton Presbytery Held at the School at 8 p.m., Friday, March 11th, 1960." [UCB-005314]

234. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 3, "Superintendent's Visit to I.A.B. Edmonton – January 20, 1958"; [AAC-080601] "Superintendent's Visit to Old Sun School – January 15, 16, 1958." [AAC-080606] Although this document is unsigned, Henry Cook, the superintendent of the Indian School Administration of the Anglican Church of Canada, was in southern Alberta in January 1958. See, for example: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, Henry Cook to L. A. Dixon, 29 January 1958. [CGY-081786]

235. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, MSSC-GS 103, box 24, file 5, "Memorandum – re: Superintendent's Visit to Winnipeg, Oct 19, 60," 18 October 1960.

236. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7194, file 511/25-1-024, A. J. Scrase to H. G. Cook, 27 November 1960. [DRS-000097]

237. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7194, file 511/25-1-024, A. G. Leslie to R. F. Davey, 22 December 1960. [DRS-000096]

238. TRC, AVS, Olive Saunders, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 7 and 8 March 2011, Statement Number: 2011-0042.

239. TRC, AVS, Jack Lee, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 18 June 2010, Statement Number: SC111.

240. TRC, AVS, Mark DeWolf, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 22 and 27 February 2011, Statement Number: 2011-0217.

241. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, NAC, 116/23-5, 05/50-05/61, Edmonton, "Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Inspector's Report, St. Cyprian's Residential Indian School," 12 May 1952, Leslie G. P. Waller. [SAC-001110-0003]

242. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6255, file 576-1, part 4, O. R. Strapp to Philip Phelan, 21 September 1949. [BRS-000442]

243. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, C. H. Best to George Dorey, 3 February 1950. [UCB-005207]

244. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6255, file 576-1, part 4, Bowser to Bernard F. Neary 24 March 1949. [BRS-000550]
245. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8667, file 709/6-1-001, part 5, O. B. Strapp to R. F. Davey, 19 March 1956; [BRS-005007] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8667, file 709/25-1-001, 1951–1961, part 2, O. B. Strapp to R. F. Davey, 14 April 1956. [EDM-000611]
246. TRC, NRA, United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Acc. No: 83.050C, box 112, file 16, Edmonton IRS – 1955–1957/UCC Docs Toronto, Thos. Hart to M. C. Macdonald, 8 May 1956. [UCA-080326]
247. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, file 774/25-1, volume 1, O. B. Strapp to G. S. Lapp, 28 May 1956; [BRS-005044] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 774/25-1, volume 1, 1952–1966, RCAP, R. F. Battle to Superintendent of Education, Indian Affairs, 5 September 1956. [EDM-003308]
248. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 29, file 10, Anglican Document No. 52.63, Victoria Ketcheson and Patricia Watson, 29 November 1952. [PAR-001992]
249. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 29, file 10, A. J. Scrase to H. G. Cook, 3 December 1952; see also: "We, the members of the whole staff ..., undated. [ACC-000990-0000]
250. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Acc. 71.220 B252 2351, "Mrs. Marjorie Crews," 14 April 1969; [IRC-049046] Marjorie Crews to E. R. Donsdale, 17 June 1969; [IRC-049047-0001] E. O. Drouin to E. R. Daniels, 28 June 1969; [IRC-049047-0001] E. O. Drouin to Whom it May Concern, 28 June 1969. [IRC-049047-0002]
251. TRC, NRA, INAC, 772/25-1-011, volume 2, 06/61–07/68, Dave W. Gilholm to Mr. Davey, 8 May 1963. [IRC-040059]
252. TRC, NRA, United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Acc. No. 83.050C, box 111, file 2, Morley IRS – Correspondence 1961–62/UCC Docs Toronto, Ron Campbell to Mr. Joblin, 12 December 1962. [UCA-081434]
253. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 772/25-1-010, volume 2, G. Kent Gooderham to Assistant Director of Education, 10 May 1963. [IRC-049052-0000]
254. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15(c), box 23, file number 5, "Report of Visit of Acting Superintendent to St. Alban's Residential School, Prince Albert, January 19–20, 1948." [13a-c000027-d0038-001]
255. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 23, file 6, "Visit of Major General G. R. Turner to All Saints & St. Alban's Schools, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan," 10 January 1949. [13a-c000028-d0037-001]
256. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 23, file 5, "Superintendent's visit to St. Albans School, Prince Albert December 3 1049." [13a-c000028-d0004-001]
257. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to Old Sun School, Gleichen, December 12-13-14 1954." [AAC-090540]
258. Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSSC-GS 103, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to Aklavik, NWT, July 28th–August 7, 1954."

259. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, MSSC-GS 103, box 24, file 1 and file 2, "Superintendent's Visit to Aklavik, NWT, July 28th–August 7, 1954," "Superintendent's Visit to All Saint's Residential School, Aklavik, NWT, 20–25, 1956."
260. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Kitchen Staff Meetings, 1970–1971, Transfer No. 1530, box 14, "Report – Meeting of Kitchen Staff, Akaitcho Hall, July 10, 1970," A. J. Boxer. [AHU-004956]
261. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Staff Meetings, 1990–1991, Transfer No. 1530, box 17, "Staff Meeting – Minutes – November 5, 1990." [AHU-005115]
262. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Staff Meetings, 1991–1993, Transfer No. 1419, box 10, Minutes of Staff Meeting, 7 February 1992, 3. [AHU-005121]
263. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6015, file 1-1-6-Alta, part 1, "Indian Education in Alberta," undated report of meeting held on 22 August 1946. [RCA-000036]
264. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1960*, 56.
265. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6443, file 881-1, part 2, "Lejac Indian Residential School General Report for Quarter Ending December 31st, 1942." [LEJ-000816]
266. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series [Illegible], box [Illegible], file [Illegible], "Brocket," undated. [AAC-085433] Although this document is undated, it deals with issues discussed in other reports from the 1948–49 period. See: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2.15, Superintendent's Visit to Brocket, October 24 and 25, 1948; [AAC-083346], NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, Superintendent's Visit to Brocket, April 4 1949. [AAC-083362]
267. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 1, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Paul's School, Cardston, June 12 & 13, 1954." [AAC-090546]
268. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, MSSC-GS 103, box 24, file 1, Henry G. Cook, "Superintendent's Visit to Moose Factory School, (Bishop Horden), September 8–15th, 1954."
269. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2.15, box 22, file 3, "Report of the Superintendent, Indian School Administration to the M.S.C.C. Executive, Toronto, February 12th, 1957." [AAC-090809]
270. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, "Superintendent's Visit to Sioux Lookout Indian School, October 30, 31, 1956." [PLK-000818]
271. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, "Superintendent's Visit to Moose Fort Indian School – June 19th–23rd, 1959." [13a-c000036-d0021-001]
272. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, box 24, file 4, H. G. Cook, Superintendent's Visit to St. Philip's Residential School, Fort George, June 3 to 6th, 1961.
273. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, file 1, Visit Reports of the Superintendent 02/54–12/54, page 004126-004227, Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, "Superintendent's Visit to Chooutla School, Carcross, Y.T., December 3th–6th, 1954." [DYK-201620]

274. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSSC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 2, "Superintendent's Visit to St. John's Residential School, Wabasca, Alberta, 26th August, 1956." [13a-c000034-d0002-022]
275. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 23, file 10, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Philip's School, Fort George – March 24–25," 1953. [13a-c000032-d0025-001]
276. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 24, file 2, "Superintendent's Visit to St. Philip's School, Fort George, P.Q. January 16 and 17 1956." [13a-c000034-d0002-004]
277. TRC, CAR, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, "Superintendent's Visit to Hostel, Fort McPherson, NWT, March 10th, 11th and 12th, 1960." [13a-c000037-d0037-001]
278. King, *School at Mopass*, 63.
279. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 757-1, part 2, volume 6355, 1928–1948, NAC, C. Pant. Schmidt to R. A. Hoey, 9 January 1945. [MOR-004315]
280. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 757-1, part 2, volume 6355, 1928–1948, NAC, G. L. Wilson to Director, Indian Affairs, 9 January 1945. [MOR-004314]
281. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 2, 1928–1948, J. A. Millican to R. A. Hoey, 15 December 1944. [IRC-048075]
282. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 757-1, part 2, volume 6355, 1928–1948, NAC, C. Pant. Schmidt to R. A. Hoey, 9 January 1945. [MOR-004315]
283. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 757-1, part 2, volume 6355, 1928–1948, NAC, C. Pant. Schmidt to R. A. Hoey, 9 January 1945. [MOR-004315]
284. TRC, AVS, Ida Ralph-Quisess, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 24 November 2010, Statement Number: 01-ON-24NOV10-002.
285. TRC, AVS, Jeanne Rioux, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vancouver, British Columbia, 18 September 2013, Statement Number: 2011-3207.
286. TRC, AVS, Mary Chapman, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vancouver, British Columbia, 4 October 2011, Statement Number: 2011-1529.
287. TRC, AVS, Ronalee Lavallee, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 24 June 2012, Statement Number: 2011-1776.
288. TRC, AVS, Vitaline Elsie Jenner, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 June 2010, Statement Number: 02-MB-16JU10-131.
289. Vitaline Elsie Jenner, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 June 2010, Statement Number: 02-MB-16JU10-131.
290. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1960*, 56.
291. TRC, AVS, Stanley McKay, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 13 July 2011, Statement Number: 2011-0269.
292. Moderators of the United Church of Canada, University of Toronto, Victoria University, E. J. Pratt Library, http://library.vicu.utoronto.ca/emmanuel/research_resources/subject_guides/moderators_united_church.html (accessed 2 July 2014).
293. Kirkness, *Creating Space, 3–12*, 29–40.
294. Kirkness, *Creating Space, 29–30*.
295. Kirkness, *Creating Space, 31–32*.
296. Kirkness, *Creating Space, 34–40*.

297. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 779/3-8, part 2, 1952–1962, RG10, 7150, NAC, Ellen L. Fairclough to Frank J. W. Fane, 22 November 1961. [BQL-005531]
298. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/25-1-009, 05/63–11/70, volume 1, RCAP, Gerald W. Baldwin to Jean Chrétien, 30 July 1970. [BQL-000158] For Linklater as Qu'Appelle student, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8775, file 655/25-8, part 1, "List of High School Pupils Attending the Qu'Appelle Indian Res. School, Lebret, Sask. Term: 1952–1953." [PLD-006041]
299. "N.I.B. Honours Indian Leaders," 6.
300. TRC, NRA, R. T. Sullivan, "Visit to the Alberni Valley," 28 February 1965. [UCB-005689]
301. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 30, file 3, "Newsletter December 1967," 19. [ACC-001851]
302. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-437, Acc. E-1997-98/161, box 5, file [205]701/1-13-6, volume 1, 01/1970–10/1970, Education Establishment, Kindergarten Teachers and Aides, 14 April 1970. [ERM-200196-0001] For Louttit as a residential school student, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6193, file 462-10, part 1, T. J. Godfrey to Alf Vale, 5 July 1935. [CRS-000137]
303. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, file 494/1-13-014, volume 1, T. B. Jones to R. F. Davey, 21 June 1963. [PLK-001867] For Spence as a residential school student, see: Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1066–1067.
304. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 144/25-7, volume 1 (locator 180-1), Ahab Spence to Superintendent, Sioux Lookout Agency, 16 April 1964. [NCA-007457-0004]
305. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-014, volume 2, "The Anglican Indian Residential School, Sioux Lookout, Ontario," 10 June 1965. [PLK-000304-0001]
306. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-014, volume 2, The Anglican Indian Residential School, Sioux Lookout, Ontario, 10 June 1965. [PLK-000304-0001]
307. *"Ahab Spence," Obituary, Winnipeg Free Press, 7 April 2001, http://passages.winnipegfreepress.com/passage-details/id-60169/name-Ahab_Spence/.*
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The endnotes of this report often commence with the abbreviation trc, followed by one of the following abbreviations: anscs, nrs, cnr, mmas, vrrs, nrs, and cac. The documents so cited are located in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's database, housed at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. At the end of each of these endnotes, in square brackets, is the document identification number for each of these documents. The following is a brief description of each database.

Active and Semi-Active Government Records (asagr) Database: The Active and Semi-Active Government Records database contains active and semi-active records collected from federal governmental departments that potentially intersected with the administration and management of the residential school system. Documents that were relevant to the history and/or legacy of the system were disclosed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (trc) in keeping with the federal government's obligations in relation to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (irssa). Some of the other federal government departments included, but were not limited to, the Department of Justice, Health Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and National Defence. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada undertook the responsibility of centrally collecting and producing the records from these other federal departments to the trc.

Audio/Video Statement (avs) Database: The Audio/Video Statement database contains video and audio statements provided to the trc at community hearings and regional and national events held by the trc, as well as at other special events attended by the trc.

Church Archival Records (car) Database: The Church Archival Records database contains records collected from the different church/religious entities that were involved in the administration and management of residential schools. The church/religious entities primarily included, but were not limited to, entities associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the United Church of Canada. The records were collected as part of the trc's mandate, as set out in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, to "identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy."

[illegible]: The [illegible] database is comprised of [illegible] records related to each [illegible] school, as set out by the [illegible].

[illegible]: The [illegible] database contains records collected by the [illegible], [illegible] and Northern Development Canada, [illegible] (since). The records in the database were originally collected for the purpose of [illegible] from a variety of allegations, such as abuse in residential schools, and primarily resulted from court processes such as civil and criminal litigation, and from the [illegible] Settlement Agreement (IRSAS), as well as from out-of-court processes such as Alternative Dispute Resolution. A majority of the records were collected from [illegible] and Northern Development Canada. The collection also contains records from other federal departments and religious entities. In the case of some records in the database that were provided by outside entities, the information in the database is incomplete. In these instances, the [illegible] in the original reads, "No document location, no document file number."

[illegible]: The [illegible] database contains records provided by Library and Archives Canada to the [illegible]. These data sets were originally part of the "Development Control Registry System," an [illegible] system, for departments that preceded the current federal [illegible] of [illegible] and Northern Development Canada. The archival records are currently retained by the Department of [illegible] and Northern Development Canada and are held as part of [illegible] collections.

[illegible]: The [illegible] database contains records collected from [illegible] and [illegible]. The archival records of federal government departments that potentially intersected with the administration and management of [illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] as part of [illegible] collections. Documents that were relevant to the history and the legacy of the [illegible] school system were initially collected by the [illegible] and Reconciliation Commission, in conjunction with [illegible] Affairs and Northern Development Canada, as part of their mandate, as set out in the [illegible] Settlement Agreement. The collection of records was later continued by [illegible] Affairs and Northern Development Canada, based on the federal government's obligation to disclose documents in relation to the [illegible] Settlement Agreement.

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